I'm on the London Daily Worker *by Sean O'Casey*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

October 1, 1940

The FDR-Willkie Foreign Policy

An Editorial

Inside Britain

By R. PALME DUTT

What Excess Profits Tax?

by J. R. Wilson

Vichy's Thieves Fall Out *by Philippe Deval*

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Between Ourselves

THE postman rang twice, and two letters fluttered down upon the editor's desk. One was from Corliss Lamont, who found warm words of praise for A. B. Magil's article on Stalin in the September 17 issue of NM. Mr. Lamont wrote: "It is the best answer to Eugene Lyons & Co. that I have seen anywhere. I think it would be well worth distributing in pamphlet form." V. J. Jerome wrote about the same article: "If only the clarity and compelling logic of this admirable tribute to the man Stalin could be made to reach the thousands whose minds are bludgeoned by the pen-gangsters of the Souvarine - Lyons - Krivitsky underworld or drugged by the polite poisoners of the *Nation-New Republic* literarium! Yes, a trebled readership is due that magnetic magazine, NM, which has done such yeoman service throughout this crucial year in the cause of peace and socialism."

We print these tributes as we prepare to announce certain other significant contributions which are scheduled for early publication. Next week's issue, dated October 8, will contain the first in the series by Dr. Samuel Sillen on that *"Nation-New Republic* literarium" of which Mr. Jerome writes. Another article, also completed and slated for early publication, is Bruce Minton's profile of William Bullitt. Mr. Minton's piece delves into the Bullitt pseudo-liberal past, sizes up the man, and seeks to discover what makes him and other renegade liberals tick. A third thrust against "summer soldiers" is Joshua Kunitz's measured appraisal of G. E. R. Gedye's anti-Soviet cables recently published in the New York *Times*. Mr. Kunitz's long stay in the Soviet Union and his deep knowledge of the economic and political life of the socialist state serve him well in his reply to the Gedye articles.

Details of the memorial meeting to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of John Reed's death in Moscow on Oct. 17, 1920, are now available. It will take place at Manhattan Center in New York on Sunday afternoon, October 20, at 2:30 p.m. We are proud to announce that Earl Browder and Art Young head the list of speakers. The general secretary of the Communist Party will discuss the meaning of John Reed's life work to the peace forces of today. Art Young will make his first public appearance in several years, to recall his association with Reed on the old *Masses*. Another old friend of Reed's, Mike Gold, will revive memories of that gallant band of 1917; other names will be announced next week. Tickets to the reserved section cost only 50 cents if bought in advance at NM's office, the Workers' Book Shop, 50 East 13th St., or at Bookfair, 133 West 44th St. The price at the door will be 50 cents, $1 for reserved rows.

Anent Ruth McKenney—we regret that her convalescence did not progress quickly enough to enable her to contribute her weekly column to this issue. "I'll be in there fighting next week," is her promise.

Several weeks ago we published a letter from Eli Jaffe, NM contributor, written from a cell in Oklahoma City jail, where he and several other workers were imprisoned. The charge of "treason" was preferred against them when they sought to place the Communist Party on the Oklahoma ballot. Hester G. Huntington of New York City has sent us a letter she wrote to Lewis Morris, Oklahoma county prosecutor, in which she stated: "I hear that bail is placed at $70,000 for some prisoners, and other bail at $50,000. For a number of months I have kept in my apartment a copy of the Bill of Rights. I note an article guaranteeing protection to those in our country from excessive bail. I realize it is possible to indict many people in these times of hysteria, people who are not in any sense common criminals. Furthermore I have been told on good authority that no court of law in the USA has established the fact that Communists advocate the overthrow of government by force or violence. I add my voice to those protesting the rise of persecutions against Communists in your state. I suggest that you extend the rights of freedom of speech and assembly, not curtail them, that you curtail vigilante attacks against minority groups, not encourage them."

NM's librarian has penned an appeal to readers to aid in completing the files. Back issues of NM extending all the way to 1912 are needed. "We are well on the way to our goal of a complete file," says her memorandum, "but we still lack many numbers. If NM readers will unbridle their sleuthing instincts and penetrate their own and their neighbors' garrets, we may be able to complete our self-appointed task."

And by the way—next Monday, September 30, is the last of all last days for you to subscribe to NM at the old rates, and also to select a book premium from those listed on our back cover. Because of the increased cost of paper our rates will rise on October 1—from $4.50 to $5.00 for one year's subscription, from $2.50 to $2.75 for six months. Don't say we didn't warn you!

Last-minute reminder: several NM contributors, among them Isidor Schneider, Corliss Lamont, Victor Yakhontoff will participate in a Soviet seminar Sept. 27-29, at Arcadia Farms, Fishkill, N. Y., under the auspices of the American Committee for Friendship with the Soviet Union. Cost for the Friday through Sunday weekend is $15.00; register at the committee's headquarters: room one, 75 Fifth Avenue.

Who's Who

R. Palme Dutt is the editor of the British *Labour Monthly*, and a noted authority on world affairs. . . . Sean O'Casey is a world-famous Irish playwright, the author of *Juno and the Paycock* and *The Star Turns Red*. . . . J. R. Wilson is an expert on taxation. . . . Phillipe Deval is a French journalist who has contributed to NM before. . . . Adam Lapin is NM's Washington correspondent. . . . V. J. Jerome, whose second article appears in this issue, is the author of a forthcoming pamphlet, *Intellectuals and the War*, to be published soon by Workers' Library Publishers. The two articles in NM were excerpts from the pamphlet.

Flashbacks

Memo on Munich: Sept. 26, 1938, Roosevelt appealed to Hitler and President Benes of Czechoslovakia to settle their controversy by negotiation. Two days later at Munich, Britain, France and Italy agreed to Germany's demand for the Sudeten area, and Hitler and Chamberlain issued their famous joint communique asserting "the desire of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again." . . . Three years earlier, Oct. 2, 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia. . . . And lest we forget from what quarter the pleas came for unity against the advance of fascism, we offer this reminder: on Sept. 26, 1935, the Executive Committee of the Communist International wired an urgent (but unsuccessful) anti-war unity appeal to the Labor and Socialist International. . . . Speaking of Internationals: the inaugural meeting of the First International was held in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London, Sept. 28, 1864. . . . "I have the solid support of the businessmen of Terre Haute," boasted the police chief of that city on Sept. 30, 1936, after he arrested Earl Browder, Communist candidate for President. "Neither Browder nor any of his co-workers will speak here tonight."

This Week

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXVII OCTOBER 1, 1940 NUMBER 2

. . . As Great as Its Readers

DEAR READER: A year ago the world's moneyed men entered into their biggest business—the production of corpses. Hundreds of thousands of good men have gone to their deaths, unwillingly, questioningly, annihilated in the quick rain of the bombs. The purpose of NEW MASSES is to answer the questions of the many dead for the sake of those who are alive. It strives to dispel the confusion engendered by those writers whose integrity has been shattered as surely as the bodies of the men struck by steel. We are proud this week to carry the credo of the world-renowned playwright, Sean O'Casey, who is now an editor of the London *Daily Worker*. One of our greatest achievements has been the regular offering of R. Palme Dutt's articles that cannot be gotten elsewhere in America. Next week's issue will be memorable for the first article in a series by Dr. Samuel Sillen, which climaxes a year of hard campaigning against those whom Tom Paine called the "summer soldiers."

Look over the past year of this publication and contrast it with all other weekly journals. No week passed without contributions of distinct public service: it was a year ago, for example, that NEW MASSES presented John L. Spivak's great series that pioneered in the duty of exposing the fascist Rev. Charles E. Coughlin. Then came the series of notable articles by a group of writers, men like R. Palme Dutt, Alter Brody, Corliss Lamont to name only a few, who week in and out explained the maneuverings of the warmakers.

A magazine is only as great as its readers, as big as their dreams. Whatever strength this magazine has is due to your requirements and your help. As you know, NEW MASSES, boycotted by most advertisers, runs into a deficit annually of about $25,000. (This deficit has been reduced by every possible economy.) Your splendid aid in our last financial campaign for $25,000 has enabled us to come this far. But we fell short of the total by $6,000. That *must* be achieved immediately. Creditors who have been held off until the autumn are now at our doors; the paper company demands payment on its stock for the next issues. Loans to pay the printer through the difficult summer months must be met. This magazine, as many of you have noted, was forced to go to twenty-four pages this summer. We must return immediately to our former thirty-two pages to carry more such articles as those by Dutt, by O'Casey, and Spivak.

Will you give us your aid to secure the $6,000 more that is necessary to meet our financial obligations? A carload of paper stock cut to the thirty-two-page requirements must be bought to enable us to return to our original size next week. Will you help us get those additional eight pages? We await your response.

The Editors

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What's Happening in Britain

R. Palme Dutt tells of the growing people's movement in England. Where labor stands. "The Laskis, Gollanczes, and Stracheys have adopted Hitler's theory. . . ."

London.

WHAT are the results for the labor movement of one year of its leaders' alignment with imperialism in this conflict? The effects in France have already reached classic completeness with the annihilation of democracy and the old forms of the labor movement. Only the Communist Party carries on the struggle. The contrast between the heights of four years ago when Communism led the labor movement and the fascists were in retreat, and the outcome within twelve months of the policy of "national unity" with fascism, abandonment of the class struggle, and suppression of the militant workers, teaches a profound lesson for all countries, and not least for Britain. The sponsors of the policy which has led to this disastrous outcome seek now to shuffle the cards in order to cover up their responsibility, to confuse the internal and external factors, and to attribute the destruction of democracy to the military defeat, in order to draw therefrom suitable chauvinist lessons for the renewal of the policy of "national unity." *But the military defeat did not lead to the destruction of democracy; the destruction of democracy led to the military defeat.*

The disruption of French trade unionism twelve months ago by the "socialists" in alliance with fascism, the imprisonment and expulsion of the militant workers, is only completed by the dissolution of the Confederation of Labor today. Two assistant secretaries were placed in office, on unification, to represent the two trends and to guard the independence and unity of French trade unionism. One of them, the Communist, is in a concentration camp (placed there, not by Hitler, but by the "socialists"). The other, the reformist, the ally and partner of Transport House, completes his course as a minister of the fascist government of Petain over the ruins of the trade union movement. Since the days of the coming to power of Hitler there has not been so mercilessly complete a demonstration of the two trends in the labor movement and their outcome.

LABOR PARTY APOLOGISTS

Today, the apologists of Transport House, the Labor Party propagandists, the Laskis, Gollanczes, Stracheys, and their company, faced with the outcome of their policy in France, seek to cast the blame, not on the "socialists," the Blums and Jouhaux, who allied themselves with fascism and imprisoned the Communists and militant workers, but on the imprisoned Communists and militant workers themselves. Not the workers' leaders who sat in a Cabinet with the fascist gangsters, who suppressed democracy and disrupted the working class organizations, introducing the death sentence for revolutionary Marxism, were responsible. On the contrary, the imprisoned workers' leaders, who remained true to the working class struggle, the Communist deputies, unseated, deprived of their parliamentary rights, gagged, tried in secret and thrown into prison, the thousands of militant workers cast into the concentration camps, were responsible—according to these precious theorists—for the disasters of the French people.

This is the familiar theory of the fascists, the theory of the "stab in the back" by the militant working class. So Hitler and Ludendorff "explained" a thousand times over the German military defeat of 1918, not as the consequence of the inner rottenness, decomposition, and anti-popular reaction of the German regime, but as the consequence of the struggle of the revolutionary workers who fought against these evils, as the consequence of the "stab in the back" by Marxism. This theory is the typical fascist theory, and whoever uses it is branded. The Laskis, Gollanczes, and Stracheys have now adopted and servilely repeat Hitler's theory of the "stab in the back" in order to account for the French military defeat of 1940 and on this basis to pursue the struggle against Marxism. The truth is the contrary. Had the leadership of Communism been followed in place of the leadership of Blum, over all these years since Spain, through Munich to the outbreak of war, the war would never have taken place. When the war against which they had fought and warned broke out, the Communists gave correct warning of the disastrous outcome to which it would lead and directed all their efforts to rallying the independent forces of the working class. Today the French Communist Party leads the struggle of all the French working people, carries on the fight when the others have passed from the scene or openly ranged themselves with fascism, and will lead that struggle to victory, to complete national and social liberation, against all their oppressors and exploiters.

In Great Britain a menacing path is being trodden by the leadership of the labor movement, in unity with the leadership of the tory party, the imperialists, and the friends of fascism. What has one year of this policy brought? It has tied up the labor movement in a formal coalition with the tory machine, with Chamberlain, in defiance even of the earlier proclamations and pledges of the same leadership in the first months of the war ("Labor is convinced that the interests of the country are best preserved by the existence of an opposition capable at any moment of becoming the government. . . . That readiness would be compromised by entrance into the government, as we saw in the last war"). (Laski, *The War and the Future,* November 1939.) "There is no chance of the Labor Party joining any government which is led by or which includes Mr. Chamberlain." *(Daily Herald,* May 10, 1940.) This political coalition is only the expression of the surrender of working-class rights, standards, and interests to the domination of capital. It has weakened and paralyzed the functioning of the labor movement, suspended democracy within it, and produced widespread demoralization and crumbling of local organization and activity. It has led to the abolition of the right to strike, the disarming of the workers before capital, the shattering of trade union rights and standards, legal safeguards, and hard-won gains of struggle, and the enslavement of the workers to the war machine. On the other hand it has enormously increased the power of capital by the ruthless drive to intensified monopoly through the whole system of state controls, extraordinary powers, and guaranteed profits. At the same time democratic rights have been broken down, and an elaborate system of regulations and emergency powers established which provide the framework for the advance to fascism.

INDUSTRIAL SERVITUDE

All the talk of "war socialism" and "the end of profiteering," with which the Labor Party and trade union leaders endeavored to decorate this establishment of industrial servitude for the workers and unlimited power and plunder for monopoly capital, now lies in ruins, exposed by the facts of the first year of the war. Between August 1939 and March 1940 the official figures of wage rates showed a rise of 8 percent, while the official figure of the cost of living in the same period showed a rise of 15 percent. Since then a further steep rise in prices has taken place, indicating the beginning of inflationary trends. The burden of taxation has been continuously shifted to increase the proportion of indirect taxation at the expense of direct; that is, to increase the burden of taxation on the consumption of the people. While the volume of earnings in a number of cases will show a greater increase than the rise in rates, owing to the heavy hours worked, against this must be set the physical deterioration through the excessive hours, and the direct losses in the case of those thrown out of their previous employment because of wartime conditions and transferred to lower-paid jobs; still more in the case of all the families of those serving in the forces, brought down from the level of the wage earner to the pawnshop level of the dependents' allowance. Nor is this only a question of the position of the wage workers. The same wartime machinery of monopoly capitalist control hastens the ruin of innumerable small

(Continued on page 6)

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I'm on the London Daily Worker

A LETTER FROM SEAN O'CASEY

Sean O'Casey, world-famous playwright, author of *Juno and the Paycock,* has joined the editorial board of the London *Daily Worker.* The editors of NEW MASSES cabled him an invitation to present to the American people his reasons for joining that newspaper. His statement follows below:

There's nothing strange, odd, inexplicable, or unnatural in my being on the board of the workers' paper, and I am a little surprised that NEW MASSES should ask a question about it. On the contrary, it is to me the most, or one of the most, natural things in the world. I look back over a fairly long life—sixty years—and I can never see myself anywhere save in the midst of the masses; glancing round me now, I see that I am still in the midst of the masses, and that fact does not startle me, does not even surprise me. Till we all realize that we are in the midst of them, in them, and of them, there can never be peace in this world which is rent, and still rending itself, asunder. Only a few days ago, "What must we do to be saved?" was asked of many eminent men; G. B. Shaw replied that only through socialism could we hope to have peace. To that I can only add, so it is.

I am a worker myself, have always been one, and hope to die one. There can be no separation from the work of the world. Any man or woman who thinks it can be done, or tries to do it, is acting foolishly. Anyway, they merely pretend to do so; for there can only be pretense in the doing of an impossible thing. Whether we like it or not, each is a part of the life around us, and no one can escape the fact that each of us is of the earth, earthy. Today as I write, Sept. 2, 1940, it has been announced over the wireless here that the Unemployment Insurance Scheme will be extended to cover 500,000 of what are called "black-coated workers"—all most respectable men, next door to gentlemen, who had they been told a few years ago that this would happen, would have fainted in haste and recovered at leisure. They had held on to the tailed coats of their masters, expecting to be lifted up, if not to heaven, to a world higher than that of the workers. Well, willy nilly, these 500,000 men and women have been regimented, have been numbered off, and have been forced to realize that the world of the workers is their world too. Poor fellows, thinking that because they worked with their brains, they were different. But the mind is with all labor; it is the mind as well as the hand that guides the plough, the sickle, and the hammer, just as it is the hand as well as the mind that guides the pen. We are all members, one of another. No man can crawl or climb out of the matter of which he is made, and there is no necessity to try. Man has justified himself. Knowledge and power are in the world, and can give their benefit when they will be used for the fuller life of all, not for a buttress to shore up the privilege of the few. When socialism comes, it will not sink us into sloth, but will vivify the sad music of humanity into a surging song of never-ending activity and glorious work. The opening verse is being sung, loudly and in harmony, by the active millions in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

My immediate reason for accepting the honor of having my name with those of J. B. S. Haldane, Jack Owen, and Page Arnot on the editorial board of the London *Daily Worker* are briefly these:

The *Daily Worker* stands and works for "a people's government that will defend the people and lead forward to peace and a free socialist Britain." So do I; aye, and a socialist Ireland, too, a conviction first brought to me by G. B. Shaw's writings on the one hand, and the words and work of Ireland's great labor leader, Jim Larkin, on the other, when G. B. S.'s hair was red, and Jim's was black, and mine was brown. It is, in my opinion, the only fearless, and unpurchasable means by which the workers can make known their needs, their oppression, and their resolution. It is the hand which holds back the strong hand that would cover with a satin sheet the meanness, the misery, the poverty, the pain, and the ignorance in which millions of useful people are forced to live. It shows that only those who are of real consequence in the world are treated as of no consequence at all. It ceaselessly speaks for those who hold up the fabric of the world. It struggles against odds of ten thousand to one. Against a multitudinous press devoted to the privileges and profits of a few, it stands like a ragged David facing a goldplated Goliath. Over a number of years, its policy toward the outward world has, in my opinion, been the only sane and sensible one. It stood against Nazism when most of those who now denounce it were throwing bouquets at Herr Hitler. It stood for republican Spain, and showed the foolishness of Munich before the Missioner went there. Through all, in all, and above all, it called for friendship with the powerful forces of the Soviet Union in war or in peace: it criticized the mad muddling that went on while England was losing her battles on the playing fields of Eton. It is moved neither to the right nor the left by any powerful advertiser, and finds its funds in the thinly lined pockets—for the most part—of the workers. Its heart is a band of men and women, mostly young, whose eyes see a vision without which the people perish. It claims for all men the achievements of the great minds of all races, in science, art, and literature. It works for a government organized and controlled by the organized workers, when all shall be workers, and none shall feel the shame of eating the bread of idleness. And again, to me most important of all, it stands for brotherhood, immediate and cordial, with the Soviet State that has done more in ten years than any other land has done in a hundred.

There are other reasons; but these will do for the present. The *Daily Worker's* suppression was threatened by a fellow calling himself Sir John Anderson, John Anderson, me Jo John, in the ribbon-like language, sensually vague, that—like the colored threads a conjuror pulls out of his mouth—flows so readily from off the tongues of the primary politicians. So I, in defense of the means of working-class opinion, readily joined the editorial board of the *Daily Worker.*

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(Continued from page 4)

traders. The recent case of the shooting and killing of an aged small farmer, who was trying to defend his land on which he had worked for fifty years, by the armed forces sent to evict him revealed the ruthless process of expropriation applied to agriculture. (In the Baltic countries at the same time the big landed estates were being confiscated, while the small farmers with less than seventy-five acres were left in possession—in England the reverse.)

Contrast the situation of big capital. In May the Liberal-Labor press hailed the government's Emergency Law as the triumph of "war socialism" and the "end of profiteering":

> We accept the new law. . . .We rejoice in the part which Labor leaders have played to bring about this revolution in the national economy.
>
> Reactionaries and profit seekers are reduced to impotence by this new stroke of a new government. . . .
>
> Excess Profits Tax will be raised to 100 percent. This means that in general no profits will be made out of the war by anybody. [*Daily Herald,* May 23.]
>
> In all firms working primarily on munitions contracts the profit motive will be virtually eliminated. [*Daily Herald,* May 24.]
>
> On Wednesday Mr. Attlee quietly and with an impressive absence of rhetoric announced the most complete plans for war socialism to which a democracy has ever submitted itself. [*New Statesman and Nation,* May 25.]

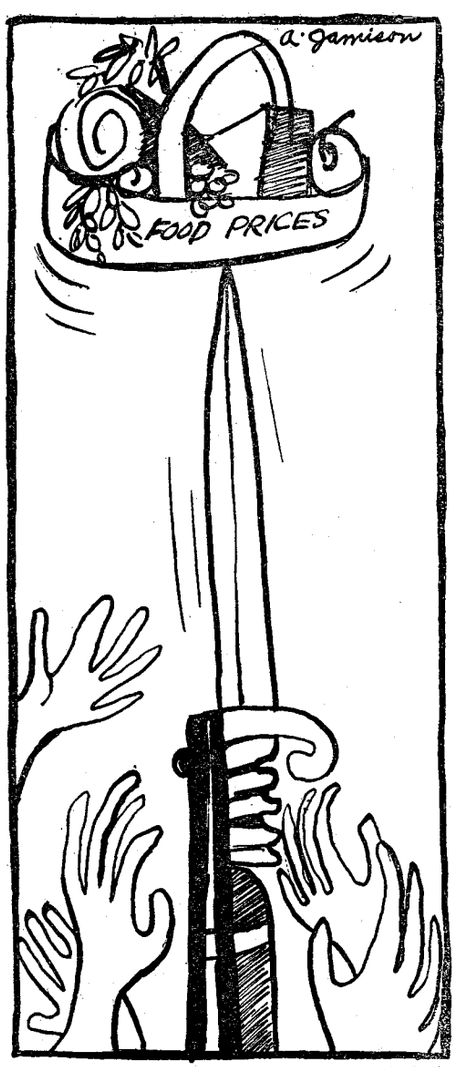
The headache followed rapidly. The workers could not fail to notice that after all the loud blazoning, dividends of 20 percent, 25 percent, and even 44 percent continued to be announced by the big firms. By August the same *Daily Herald* was complaining that 100 percent EPT (Excess Profits Tax) was "a fraud":

> The idea that 100 percent EPT is limiting dividends is complete nonsense. In this sense 100 percent EPT is a fraud—for one simple reason. Dividends are now being paid out of the last year's financial profits, and on those profits EPT was only at 60 percent. So higher dividends are now in fact being paid and will continue to be paid for many months. [*Daily Herald,* August 12.]

These deepening class contrasts inseparably associated with the process of imperialist war; the increasingly difficult conditions of the mass of the people; and the dangers, hardships, and uncertainties arising from the advance and intensification of the war inevitably begin to break down the political passivity and hesitations of the first stage of the war and give rise to the first signs of mass awakening. In marked contrast to the situation at its opening, the close of the first year of war has seen a gathering mass ferment, an increasingly marked distrust of the ruling class representatives, the first confused forms of approaching crisis. While this gathering ferment is still confused, without clear political orientation, sporadic, and not yet finding effective channels of expression in action, there can be no question of its extent or that it is the herald of inner political struggles. The wave of anger and indignation which followed immediately on Dunkirk and the collapse of France has deepened and extended over a wide series of fronts and issues, revealing more and more the gulf between the interests of the mass of the people and the ruling finance-capitalist interests. Although this gathering mass dissatisfaction still lacks unity of leadership and organization, a centralized political drive, or political clearness in relation to the war, these beginnings of awakening are already the most important development of the political situation in Britain, and the key to the future.

CONCESSIONS

The ruling-class authorities have shown that they very clearly understand the significance of this situation. This is evidenced in the concern of sections of the big capitalist press to take up actively the voicing of particular discontents and grievances while steering clear of any political conclusions, and especially in the shift of the Labor Party organ from the role of defender to that of critic of the government. The influence of mass pressure is further evidenced in the eagerness of the government to announce minor concessions (the sixpenny increase for the soldiers, the reduction of hours in the factories, the retreat on the "Silent Column,"



A. Jamison

the promise to review sentences and revise the treatment of refugees, etc.). These minor tactical retreats or shows of retreat (often in words rather than in acts) do not contradict but accompany the main intensified reactionary drive, the introduction of ceaseless new anti-democratic regulations, the economic and financial policy at the expense of the workers, the tightening up of measures to control the industrial workers, the sporadic police raids and persecutions, the victimization of militant workers in the factories, the general strengthening of counter-revolutionary preparations. As in the days of Chartism, the government simultaneously maneuvers, seeks to divert, confuse, and break up the gathering mass movement and at the same time arms itself with its machinery of repression. The character of the situation is further evidenced in renewed discussion concerning the reconstruction of the government and proposals for drawing in more labor leaders.

THE BASIC TASK

This situation throws the greatest responsibility on the most active and politically conscious sections of the organized working class, who alone can rally, unite, and lead the broad movement of the people. The task now is to rally the many channels of discontent into a powerful common movement with a clear political aim. The first year of war has laid bare all the problems of the war before the people and has begun the process of exposing and shattering the illusions which have kept them from moving forward in their own interests. The opening of the second year brings more and more to the forefront the tasks of active mass leadership. Of especial importance in this connection is the call for a great people's convention in October to draw together the widest masses of the people in the common struggle for their interests, for a people's government and a people's peace. The sharp twists and turns of the world crisis and the war situation can constantly bring new needs and conditions of struggle, which make no fixed timetables easy of fulfillment. But the basic task remains to rally the masses of the people, with the class-conscious organized workers in the vanguard, from the present passivity and impotence before the blows of finance capital to active struggle for their own interests and their victory, for their way out of the crisis of the social system which has brought mankind to the present pass. At the close of the first year of war we will do well to recall the words of the old Zimmerwald Manifesto of international socialism at the close of the first year of the first world war: *"Proletarians! Since the outbreak of war, you have placed your energy, your courage, your endurance at the service of the ruling classes. Now you must stand up for your own cause, for the sacred aims of socialism, for the emancipation of the oppressed nations as well as of the enslaved classes, by means of the irreconcilable proletarian class struggle."*

R. Palme Dutt.

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The Rich Get Richer

How the administration appeased the millionaires. "An excess profits tax is not a limit on profits"—in the last world war or this one.

In 1920 the American people awoke from the dream that they were fighting a war for democracy to discover that 22,000 *new* millionaires—not to mention the old ones—had reaped a harvest fertilized by the blood of American boys dying abroad. In the war toward which the American people are now being led they are assured that all will be different. The keynote was sounded by the President on May 21 when he solemnly assured the nation that "not a single war millionaire" would be created as a result of the present emergency. Majority Leader Rayburn subsequently amended this by stating that there would not be "so many war millionaires" created.

But if the President was overenthusiastic in speech there can be no doubt that he was far from precipitate in action on the limitation of profits. For weeks and even months thereafter there were vague news reports of conferences and consultations on the "complex" problems of such limitation. A conscription bill burst full grown from the brain of the army and the millionaires, billions were appropriated in successive measures—but no program for preventing a repetition of the experience of twenty years ago.

Finally, as the debate on the conscription bill and the mail pouring into Washington revealed the extent of popular opposition to the war drive, it was decided that some action was necessary. On August 8 there was officially submitted a report of the Subcommittee on Internal Revenue Taxation to the House Committee on Ways and Means. No specific bill had been introduced but the report contained the framework on which virtually all subsequent debate has been hung and on which was based the bill passed by the House on August 29. That report was the first official indication of the administration's profit-limitation plan.

First on the program was the suspension of existing limitations on profits made under navy and army contracts. A little background may be helpful to a full understanding of this step. On March 27, 1934, the Vinson-Trammel act was passed. It provided that when the government gave out contracts for the building of a ship or airplane for the navy, any profit made by the builder over 10 percent of the contract price had to be paid back to the government. In April 1939 this was amended to apply to aircraft built for the army as well as the navy, with the difference that a 12 percent profit on army contracts was permitted. (Recall that it was on a cost plus 10 percent basis—the notorious "cost plus" contracts—that the profiteering of the last war flourished.)

Protests were made against these excessive profit allowances, and in June of this year the law was once more amended to fix the permissible profit on ships and army and navy aircraft at 8 percent. The shipbuilders and the plane manufacturers began to fight this provision. They received the support of the army and navy brass hats and the National Defense Advisory Commission, which consists almost entirely of big business representatives. It was argued that if profits were limited to a mere 8 percent, manufacturers might be "less eager" to cooperate in the defense program. Messrs. Burke and Wadsworth knew of ways to deal with American citizens who were not "eager" to be torn from their homes to be regimented into military training camps. But when industrialists announced that their "eagerness" to "cooperate" would depend on the profits allowed them, the administration hastened to appease them. So the first item in the so-called excess profits tax program is removal of even the present inadequate limit on profits. The bill passed by the House on August 29 and the version voted by the Senate September 19 propose to remove all limits.

This is being done under the pretext that the excess profits tax will limit any exorbitant earnings. But there was an excess profits tax in the last war too. The big capital holdups of 1917, 1918, and 1919 are not entirely forgotten. The copper producers in March 1917, even before American entry into the war, sold to the government at 16.7 cents a pound and made a profit of 66⅔ percent. They were praised by the director of the Council of National Defense for "their generous and public-spirited attitude." The same "generous and public-spirited" group later in the war held out for 25 cents per pound and got 23.5 cents—at a time when the average cost of production per pound was 13.6 cents, and for some producers as low as 7 and 8 cents. A Nye committee report described a contract secured by the du Pont company near the end of the war which, had the war continued, would have yielded a return of $15,000,000 on a $5,000 capital investment.

This war, we are told, will be "different." There will be "not a single war millionaire"—or at least not "so many." The first step under the proposed law is to remove all present limitations on profits!

CURE-ALL

Most of the shouting centers around the so-called excess profits tax itself. This is hailed as the great cure-all for the evil of war profiteering. It is important to recognize just what it is.

In the first place an excess profits tax is not a limit on profits. It does not establish a ceiling on the amount of profit in dollars or on the rate of profit in percentages. Profits may double, triple, quadruple—the proposal is only to fix some point above which profits become subject to special taxes. There is no point at which profits are stopped or excessive earnings taken away. Under the prosopal now pending the excess profits tax on the *top portion* of the most exorbitant profit never exceeds 50 percent.

What the excess profits tax would do is determine a "normal" or "proper" amount of profit, which would be subject only to the normal taxes. Earnings above that are to be considered "excess profits" and are to be taxed—the amount of tax depending on the amount of "excess profits." What, then, are to be considered "normal" profits? The Treasury Department proposed that a certain percentage of a corporation's "invested capital" be deemed a "normal" annual profit. The alternative proposal was that the amount of profit earned by the company in the years 1936-39 be considered the company's "normal" profit. Some industrialists favored the first of these plans because it would affect them most lightly, others favored the second for the same reason. The House and Senate "compromised" and adopted both—with the corporation taking its choice! Under the House bill this means that the corporation can decide whether to figure its normal profit ("exemption" or "excess profit credit") free from excess profits tax as: (1) the amount of profits averaged between 1936 and 1939, plus $5,000; or (2) the same percentage of its "invested" capital that it earned during the years 1936-39, plus $5,000. Lest there not be enough exemption under this alternative, the bill is careful to say that at least 7 percent will be allowed on the first $500,000 of "invested capital" and at least 5 percent of all amounts over that, regardless of how small the profits were in 1936-39. A top limit of 10 percent is fixed and the corporation, if it chooses this method of computation, must pay a somewhat higher "normal" tax.

Thus a corporation which had poor earnings in 1936-39 would take the second alternative and be assured of at least 7 percent profit on its first $500,000 of invested capital and 5 percent on amounts above that—free from excess profits taxes. A corporation which had made substantial profits in 1936-39 would take the first alternative and would be allowed to continue its high profits free from excess profits taxes unless it exceeded even its prior earnings.

When a corporation's earnings have reached the stage of "excess profits," taxes are to be paid at the rate of 25 percent of the first $20,000 of these "excess profits," 30 percent of the next $30,000, 35 percent of the next $50,000, 40 percent of the next $150,000, 45 percent of the next $250,000,

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and 50 percent of everything above that—and the sky is the limit.

How well the House did its job of making the law harmless to profiteers is indicated by the amount of money expected from the tax. John L. Sullivan, assistant secretary of the treasury, testifying before the joint hearings of the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee on August 10, estimated that the net return for 1940 would be $190,000,000. This may look like a tidy little sum, but, contrasted with approximately twenty *billion* dollars of expenditures for "defense purposes," a return of $190,000,000 (less than 1 percent of the total outlay) is properly described by Senator Clark of Missouri as a "drop in the bucket." But a "drop in the bucket" is all that the Roosevelt administration proposes to ask of those who will be deriving "excess profits" from huge war expenditures.

High-priced corporation lawyers and accountants can be depended on to see to it that in computing corporate profits for purposes of taxation that "drop in the bucket" will remain no more than a "drop." Profit, we all know, means receipts minus cost. A simple calculation for the average grocer or hardware merchant. But the books of a large corporation are in a different sphere. Take the matter of "cost" for example. The tax-paying corporation wants its "cost" to appear as high as possible so that taxable profits are less. If it is a manufacturing corporation, it includes as part of its "cost" the "depreciation" of its plant. In other words a corporation with a $10,000,000 plant may claim that in a year's use the plant has depreciated one-tenth of its value. One million dollars is chalked up as "cost" for the year—and $1,000,000 goes free of taxes. Similarly a mining corporation charges "depletion" to cost. This means that the total contents of the mine must be evaluated in order to find out what proportion is removed each year—and that proportion becomes part of "cost." Since the mineral contents of a section of land cannot be determined with any accuracy, the companies have great leeway.

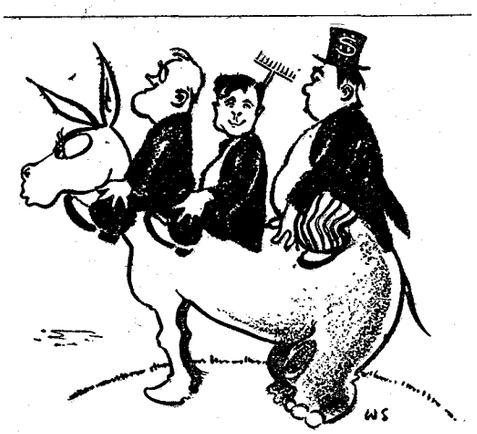
Most brazen of all, however, is the third major feature of the proposed tax law: the proposal to utilize amortization allowances so that the government will virtually build plants for private manufacturers in order that they may profit from government orders.

Amortization is, in essence, a rapid depreciation. The theory is not that the plant is being worn out but that it has been built especially for the emergency and will be useless thereafter. Therefore a much greater portion of the plant's value may be figured as "cost" each year until the total value of the plant has been written off. Thus, under the proposed law, a five-year amortization is permitted. This means that a corporation which builds a new plant at a cost of $5,000,000 for meeting increased demand may deduct $1,000,000 each year for five years as part of its "cost" for the year. If the corporation is earning "excess profits," the deduction of that $1,000,000 each year would mean, even under the mild provisions of the proposed law, that $1,000,000 which would otherwise be subject to a 50 percent levy, is freed from tax. In other words the government contributes $500,000 a year toward the cost of the new plant, or a total of half its value.

Amortization, too, was a profiteering device of the last war. In 1918 the Aluminum Co. of America avoided payment of over $6,000,000 in taxes because it was allowed a $10,000,000 amortization deduction. The theory of the deduction allowance was, then as now, that after the emergency the extra plant properties would be useless, a loss to the company. But in 1920 the company was producing more than in 1919, and in 1930 it was producing 80 percent more than in 1919. Most ironic of all was the fact that $8,000,000 of the $10,000,000 amortization deduction represented plant construction from which the government received no benefit at all because it was not even completed in time for war production. Other amortization allowances in the last war included $55,000,000 for US Steel, $22,000,000 for Bethlehem Steel and $15,000,000 for du Pont.

Under the proposed law the House spares no pains to ensure that maximum profits are wrung from the war appropriations. The amortization allowances are placed on a five-year period—i.e., 20 percent deduction each year. If the emergency lasts longer, the corporation benefits. If, on the other hand, the emergency does not last so long, the corporation may revise its tax returns and make larger deductions: four years, 25 percent per year; three years, 33⅓ percent per year, and so forth. The government takes all the risk, the corporation none. If the government loses, the people pay; if the corporation wins, the people pay; and the corporation can't lose.

The Senate version of the misnamed excess profits tax bill retains every essential provision of the House measure. It goes even farther and dots every "i" and crosses every "t" to guarantee protection for gigantic profits. It provides additional loopholes to facilitate shrinkage or even elimination of excess profits taxes payable by large corporations. One new feature is a flat increase of 3.1 percent in the normal corporate income tax. Even the pro-administration "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column commented on this as follows:



W. Stephen

Result is that the new tax bill is not an excess profits bill at all. At least two-thirds of it is an increase on corporation taxes, which doesn't even begin to take away big business profits on national defense orders. As a matter of fact, this flat tax makes it harder for the smaller firms to compete with the big ones.

Compare this solicitous treatment of big business with the blitzkrieg against the people's pocketbook in June. One billion dollars in additional taxes on low incomes and consumers' goods were voted by Congress in that month. (See my article, "Death and Taxes," in the July 2 issue of NEW MASSES.) The Roosevelt tax program needs to be viewed as an integral part of its broader program of strengthening reaction in preparation for taking the country into imperialist war. A people's tax program must necessarily be of an entirely different character. The election platform of the Communist Party indicates the outlines of such a program when it demands:

Establish a heavy excess profits tax and a steeply graduated income tax on the higher brackets. Abolish tax-exempt securities. Confiscate all war profits. Repeal the provisions of the new tax laws hitting the low-income groups. Abolish all direct and indirect taxes on articles of mass consumption.

J. R. WILSON.

"Dear Fritz"

LIKE the last crooked square which completes a jigsaw puzzle came the publication last week by *Friday* of a letter written by William J. Cameron, vice-president of the Ford Motor Car Co. It was typed on the stationery of the Anglo-Saxon Society of America, Dearborn, Mich., on May 19, 1937, and was addressed to Fritz Kuhn, then leader of the German-American Bund, now a convict at Dannemora Prison on charges of fraud. Mr. Cameron, hailing Kuhn as "Dear Fritz," assured him that "Bennett" (Harry Bennett, head of Ford's Gestapo) would conceal evidence of Kuhn's connection with Ford. Cameron boasted of how he had denied to New York newspapers that Kuhn had ever been employed by Ford. In the concluding paragraph he wrote: ". . . you can look for me by the first of the month, at that time we will outline our next move. H. is in Florida but keeps his eyes and ears open."

This proof of Henry Ford's connection with the Nazis added a last touch to John L. Spivak's expose in the columns of NEW MASSES. *Friday* is to be congratulated for publicizing the fascist connections of the motor magnate. The CIO is also to be congratulated: it has announced an appropriation of $100,000 for the purpose of organizing Ford workers. Establishment of collective bargaining relations, in accordance with the law of the land, will not only be "an important contribution to orderly industrial relations," to quote Mr. Lewis. It will be a guarantee of the continuance of industrial and political democracy not only in Michigan but wherever the Ford influence penetrates.

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How Hitler Rules Vichy

An inside story of the Petain government. Herr Abetz dictates and Monsieur Laval signs. Nazi-Italian competition behind the scenes.

Berne, Switzerland.

THE change in the Petain government marks an important turn in the struggle between Nazi Germany and fascist Italy over the final fate of France. This struggle has overshadowed the political life in Vichy since the armistice was signed. It would now seem that the Nazis have gained a considerable advantage.

When the second Petain government was formed after the acceptance of the disastrous Compiegne conditions, a majority of the ministers were oriented toward what Laval once called the "Rome-Paris-Madrid Axis of Latin Solidarity." Laval had been a champion of this Axis for a long time. The new ministers in the second Petain combination were mostly of the same mind. The fascist deputy Jean Ybarnegaray was always an ardent admirer of Mussolini and one of General Franco's most active lobbyists. The Corsican deputy Francois Pietri besieged the Quai d'Orsay in 1938 to get the nomination as ambassador to Rome, and only a press campaign barred him from this post. The senator of Martinique, Henri Lemery, the most corrupt representative of "liquid" capital, went to Franco Spain during the civil war and made a sensational speech in Burgos in which he praised "Latin solidarity." Sen. Emile Mireaux, coeditor of *Le Temps,* represented the pro-Italian wing on this paper of the Comite des Forges. Only Adrien Marquet, Petain's second minister of interior, had pursued a policy entirely oriented toward Nazi Germany. These five men are ministers no more. A word from Otto Abetz, Hitler's ambassador to Petain's France, blew them out of the Cabinet.

LUNCHEON CONFERENCE

Their fate had been sealed a short time before by Vice Premier Laval and his former pal Abetz at a Paris luncheon. He enjoyed the assistance of another pal, Count de Brinon, who in the last six years has been the go-between with Hitler. The Count de Brinon represented one of the greatest French banks on the newspaper *Information* and was vice president of the "Comite France-Allemagne," center of Nazi propaganda in the Third Republic. The then vice premier, Camille Chautemps, and the present ambassador to the United States, Henri Haye, were Brinon's associates. Their committee distributed in print as well as by grapevine Hitler's anti-Communist slogans, and nourished the campaign against the Franco-Soviet pact with money and propaganda. Laval took them up in the Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee and later on the floor of the Upper House.

These cronies were having lunch in German-occupied Paris. The fourth man at the table was Gen. Charles Huntzinger, then head of the French Armistice Commission in Wiesbaden and now minister of war in Petain's third Cabinet. Before Laval went to this luncheon he had not overlooked the fact that the Parisian papers such as *Le Matin* and *Le Journal* had suddenly begun to praise Georges Bonnet's strenuous efforts of the last few years in selling France out to Hitler. During the week Laval was there Abetz also saw the long-nosed Bonnet, eager to grab the heritage of France from Laval. Skyscraper Pierre Etienne Flandin also made his bow, reminding Abetz that he had been a Hitlerite before Bonnet and Laval. Adrien Marquet presented his Hitler mustache to the German ambassador, hoping that the Nazi ax would spare him at the next reshuffle of Petain's Cabinet. And last but not least, the master of the Comite des Forges, Francois de Wendel, met a few fellow industrialists from Nazi Germany in Abetz's house. The report in Vichy has it that he came to a complete agreement with them about close cooperation. No wonder! The Comite des Forges has always been the driving force behind the Hitler wing of the French appeasers. They preferred an agreement with Krupp and German heavy industry to the rosy picture of "Latin solidarity," which was conceived by quite another wing of French banking capital.

ABETZ'S LIST

At his luncheon with Abetz Vice Premier Laval was told what had to be done: nothing less than an enormous step toward complete *Gleichschaltung* of Petain's France with Nazi Germany. It is not Petain who nominates and dismisses ministers. The list is drawn up by Abetz; Petain merely adds his signature.

Abetz came to the luncheon with a list of the men to be dismissed from Petain's second government: the four pro-Italian ministers mentioned above. When the meal was over a fifth name was added to the list, that of Adrien Marquet. At Laval's insistence Hitler's ambassador had agreed that the new reshuffle should proceed under the slogan of eliminating the former parliamentarians. Laval was annoyed by the efforts of Marquet to gain control over Petain. So with the help of Abetz he sent him to the wilderness. Instead of Marquet he proposed the resident of Tunisia, Marcel Peroüton, a Hitlerite of long standing, whose Red-baiting had for years made him the target of labor attacks. He is the son-in-law of the Radical-Socialist deputy and former minister, Malvy, an outstanding Munich man. During the first imperialist war Malvy was accused of giving information to the kaiser's Germany, was banned from Paris, and pardoned only after the victory of the "Left Cartel" in 1924.

Abetz insisted that Rene Belin be elevated in the new Petain Cabinet to the full rank of a minister. This former assistant general secretary of the Trade Union Confederation was a long-time docile servant of French capital; during the Spanish war and the Czech crisis he lined up with the Socialist and trade union leaders on the side of betrayal. His paper, *Syndicats,* was financed by Bonnet. He was one of those "pacifists" who favored surrender to Hitler and war against the Soviet Union.

According to reports circulating in Vichy, Abetz used strong language with Laval. The Fuehrer, it seems, is all fed up with the numerous articles in the Petain press about "Latin solidarity." Hitler doesn't want to hear of that any more. And as if to make the argument a little more telling, Abetz is said to have dropped the remark at this luncheon that he had recently had a long and pleasant conversation with Georges Bonnet. Swarthy Laval understood. It is said all over Vichy that Laval promised to look no more toward the Alps and the Pyrenees, to regard the Wilhelmstrasse as the center of the world. Whether he has saved his post for good or will have to go the way of the other "Latinites" remains to be seen.

Laval was also told that the Nazis do not want the Petain Cabinet to come to Paris. The French capital is the center of Nazi military activity against Great Britain. The air warfare is directed from a Paris suburb. Therefore, Abetz said, the return of the French government to its capital depends on a Nazi victory over Great Britain.

Great as is the advantage which the Nazis have gained in the latest reshuffle, they have not yet taken all the Italian positions in the Petain government. Paul Baudoin is still minister of foreign affairs. This former head of the Bank of Indo-China has played on the Italian side the same role as Count de Brinon on the Nazi side. With Bonnet's arrival at the Quai d'Orsay Baudoin became the real French ambassador to Rome. He is director of a company which holds the monopoly of salt exploitation in Italian East Africa. He represents those influential banking circles who believe that a French-Italian-Spanish bloc would be a strong counterweight to the Nazi empire. In this bloc France would play the role of a banker "earning" huge profits on the reconstruction of Spain and the organization of Mussolini's empire. Before and during the war Baudoin made frequent trips to Rome, always presenting offers to Mussolini, behind which loomed the proposal of reshaping France in the Italian image. Al-

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though he was not sacked, Baudoin also has been reminded that Hitler is the real master. From time to time the Nazi news agencies have reported his forthcoming resignation. They predict that Georges Bonnet will take his place, very much to Laval's discomfort.

HITLER'S PLANS

The ideas of the "Latinites" do not coincide with Hitler's plans for the domination of Europe. Hitler has turned Mussolini's ambitions from Europe to Africa. He regards France as his own domain. This was evident in the armistice conditions, by which Mussolini was allowed only to occupy a small strip, five miles of French territory. Continual rumors in Vichy say that Hitler is demanding or will demand the complete occupation of France, including the Mediterranean ports. If Hitler's troops make their appearance on the Pyrenees, in Marseille and Toulon, that will mark the outward end of the policy of a "Latin bloc."

When Marshal Petain accepted the truce of Compiegne, the French people took it with a heavy heart. Their only comfort lay in the knowledge that the war was over. But this proved wrong. A part of France is a battlefield of the struggle between Great Britain and Nazi Germany. Every night French ports and cities are bombarded by the Royal Air Force. Many a Frenchman has been the victim of the air bombardment since the armistice was signed. On top of that, France has become the diplomatic battlefield where the contradictions between Nazi Germany and fascist Italy are fought out. As a former deputy recently remarked: "Vichy has become a second Belgrade."

The future looks even darker. If the war keeps on, France will continue to be a battlefield. If the war ends, what will be the final peace conditions? And what repercussions will the contradictions between Nazi Germany and fascist Italy have on French life? These are the questions which the French people ask. No censorship, no police system, no regulations of the occupying force can conceal the fact that the occupied as well as the unoccupied zone shows a growing restlessness and an increasingly hostile attitude toward both the German occupants and their puppets in Vichy. Unemployment and food shortage have diminished that horrible apathy which followed the truce of Compiegne. There is no doubt now that the masses in France have begun to think again about their future, to discuss the possibilities of a change.

The Petain government tried to channelize the dissatisfaction into fascist organizations. When de la Rocque's Croix de Feu proved ineffective, Ybarnegaray formed a new youth organization, while Laval put his money on the renegade Jacques Doriot. But the results are not satisfying. Reports from Paris show clearly that Doriot is making little headway in general and almost none in the ranks of labor.

If Frenchmen look in vain in the Nazi and Vichy newspapers for answers to the burning questions that occupy their minds, they find them in a little mimeographed sheet bearing the masthead of *L'Humanite,* which circulates regularly in Paris as well as in Vichy. In the last issue I saw a manifesto of the French Communist Party which places as the first condition for the liberation of France the unity of all labor forces. Many indications show that French labor is on the way to this unity. Reports from all over the country have it that the influence of the Socialists and treacherous trade union leaders is vanishing. The French people is beginning to make its weight felt again in French politics. Such is the situation nearly three months after the armistice. If this process continues to be as promising as it is today, it may well be that the plans of Laval and Abetz will come to an unexpected end.

PHILIPPE DEVAL.

La Belle France

INFORMATION from France emphasizes intense popular suffering, growing disorganization, and the beginnings of a renewed militancy among the workers. France is divided into two zones; the Germans control the most industrialized northern region, including Paris and the channel ports. Two million Frenchmen are held prisoner in camps throughout Belgium and Germany, where conditions are so bad that at least fifty men are dying every day. Communications between the two zones has practically ceased, intensifying the anxiety of the soldiers' families, while the trainloads which bring refugees into the unoccupied areas add to the unemployment and destitution. On top of that the Vichy government is paying for the German occupation at the rate of 400,000,000 francs a day, half of what the war itself cost, recalling the tribute which defeated Germany paid for the Allied occupation after Versailles.

Marshal Petain's government is obviously shaky. It is an interim regime which is nonetheless continuing the process of national suicide, reversing everything for which the republic stood. The Catholic orders have again been permitted to infiltrate the schools, anti-Semitic demonstrations have occurred in Vichy, the trade unions have been taken over by a committee of four pro-German labor leaders, in the face of Leon Jouhaux' resignation. Municipal councils are being suspended everywhere: there was particular irony in last week's news that Edouard Herriot, the chairman of the Radical Socialists, had been removed from the mayoralty of Lyons, and Marx Dormoy, Leon Blum's *righthand man, from his post as mayor* of Montlucon. These were the men who carried through the suspension of the Communist mayors and municipal councils only last winter.

Food is the most serious problem in France, as last week's rationing decree reveals. Frenchmen will now eat less than Britons and Germans: twelve ounces of meat, canned beef and pork, are allowed per week, two ounces of cheese, twelve ounces of bread per day, twenty-five ounces of sugar per month for children and two-thirds as much for adults. Milk disappears completely except for children and expectant mothers.

Working class militancy is reawakening in France: the latest incident occurred in Toulouse, where a line of workers waiting for bread transformed itself into a political demonstration against Petain.

Says the Zurich, Switzerland, *Volksrecht:* "All private messages . . . from France agree that conditions are becoming daily more chaotic. . . . It will not be surprising if we soon hear of public disorders. The rising tide of distress and the ebbing authority of the government may well produce a dangerous crisis. . . . The Germans are anxious about such possible disorders . . . occurring behind their front against England . . . and may be prompted to occupy more French territory."

Add "Liberals"

FOR the past year NEW MASSES has pointed to the defections of many liberals and warned that they were abandoning liberalism itself. Now along comes Mayor Maury Maverick of San Antonio to further prove our case. When Maverick was in Congress, leader of the House liberal bloc, he was an arch-isolationist—at a time when collective security might have saved peace. Now he has become so rabidly pro-war that he talks like a cross between Martin Dies and Col. Julius Ochs Adler. In an interview published by the New York *World-Telegram,* he expressed regret that at one time he had upheld the right of Communists to meet in San Antonio. He insinuated that members of Jehovah's Witnesses, a pacifist religious sect, were Hitler agents, and boasted that he had barred their meetings as well as those of the Communists: "You can get so damned liberal that you lose your liberalism, your Constitution, and your government." At another point he said: "I'm a swell demagogue. I could make you cry about how we should keep our boys here. But our ancestors didn't win this country sitting down. What we need is aggressiveness."

Maverick may seem an extreme example, but when Freda Kirchwey of the *Nation* complains that the conscription act isn't sweeping enough, and objects to the provision barring service outside the western hemisphere, she isn't so far behind. Not far behind, too, are the editors of the *New Republic* who with "heavy hearts" lend a hand at tying the noose to strangle democracy and peace. The problems raised by the desertion of people like Maverick, Miss Kirchwey, and the host of Lewis Mumfords, Waldo Franks, Max Lerners, etc., deserve detailed examination. In the two articles by V. J. Jerome which are concluded in this issue, NEW MASSES has presented a penetrating study of similar desertions in the past. In the next issue we begin publication of an outstanding series by Samuel Sillen, dealing with the liberal intellectuals of our own day.

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Peace Lobby

America's majority is represented by the delegates whom Representative Cox of Georgia called "lousy bums and bohunks."

Washington.

NEVER before did a lobby descend on Washington quite like the anti-conscription lobby organized by the American Peace Mobilization. This was a lobby which greased the palms of no venal statesmen and threw no lavish cocktail parties for thirsty legislators in the Mayflower Hotel. It was a lobby which consisted not of industrial tycoons and high-paid lawyers, but of two thousand common, ordinary people —seamen, transport workers, farmers, students, and office workers from twenty-three states and seventy-two cities. These lobbyists were pushed around plenty by the cops, and many of them were arrested. Yet the peace lobby had a good part of Congress frightened stiff. The very violence of the insults hurled against it by tories like Rep. E. E. Cox of Georgia, who called the lobbyists "lousy bums and bohunks," was a tribute to its power.

Confronted by this phenomenon, many congressmen outdid veteran Washington cops in the coarseness of their language and their lack of manners. "I don't depend on bastards like you to get elected," a Pennsylvania Democrat told a gathering of his constituents in the peace lobby. Said a Southern statesman: "I always vote according to what I hear from my district, and as far as labor is concerned I don't give a God damn what they think." One New England Republican put the lobbyists through a grueling cross-examination before he would listen to them. He demanded to know first whether they were from his district and, second, whether they were American citizens. But Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York easily carried off honors in this contest of boors. He not only threatened to punch one of the lobbyists in the nose, but curried favor with the numerous anti-Semites in the House by a speech asserting that many of the lobbyists were Jewish and proclaiming that he disowned them and spewed them out.

THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER

Of course this was by no means the attitude of all congressmen. Most of those who voted against conscription gave the peace lobbyists an interested and sympathetic audience. But the intolerance and insolence of the peacetime-draft advocates is significant at a time when Congress is fast stamping out civil liberties. Behind the performance of the patrioteers was a conviction which a number of them expressed frankly—that to all intents and purposes the United States is already in the war. The peace lobbyists were not able to match the pro-war legislators in the picturesqueness of their language, but they did confront them with a solemn pledge to vote in the November elections against every congressman who supported conscription. This point was included in every report which state delegations made to APM headquarters on their interviews with congressmen.

Capitol Hill and metropolitan police forces vied with each other in dealing toughly with the peace lobbyists. Many lobbyists were refused permission to enter the House office buildings to see their congressmen. Others were lined up and forced to enter the building only four or five at a time. One cop solemnly told a group waiting for a congressman in the corridor outside the House chamber: "No lobbying here today." Washington's two police forces joined together in breaking up the prayer meeting which the APM attempted to hold on the Capitol steps on Thursday night, September 5. One of the special jobs of the city police force was to prevent the distribution of leaflets announcing peace mobilization meetings and activities. Through the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties the APM sued the various officials involved and actually won a court order and a formal agreement from federal and District of Columbia officials to permit free speech and free assembly, including leaflet distribution, the carrying of banners in public places, and the right to hold meetings—district ordinances to the contrary notwithstanding. To loosen some of the intolerable police restrictions on civil liberties in Washington is no little achievement.

In face of the provocations which they met on all sides, the lobbyists maintained dignity and discipline. When the prayer meeting was broken up that Thursday night, they refused to get into fist fights either with the organized hecklers from the local National Guard and other military units or with the police. They prevented an incident for which the police seemed to be aching. They persisted in this sober and restrained conduct despite very genuine and irritating problems, such as lack of funds and proper meals and decent lodging. Far larger than had been anticipated, the lobby seemed at times to overwhelm the new and comparatively inexperienced APM officers. It was a grass-roots lobby of rank-and-filers from start to finish, bigger than any of its leaders or any of the individuals in it, a lobby of determined common people from every part of the nation who knew what they wanted and ignored tremendous obstacles to go after it.

STAYING POWER

But the anti-conscription lobby shared one quality with the more traditional, "respectable" lobbies (like that of the construction contractors which wants to abolish WPA and put the project workers in the army—or the big canners' lobby which is still trying to unfurl the dime-an-hour banner over Capitol Hill). That quality is staying power. The APM organized no fly-by-night affair. True, most of the lobbyists have had to return to their regular daily occupations. But the APM is in Washington to stay. It has rented a floor in an old red brick building and has set up offices there. Leaders of the American Peace Mobilization are giving organizational shape to the mighty peace forces which gathered in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend.

The APM officers have set themselves three immediate objectives. First they are urging the setting up of permanent organizations of peace volunteers throughout the country. Second they are campaigning for passage of the Marcantonio resolution to repeal the conscription act. The brass hats are undoubtedly looking around to find grounds for action against people who don't like conscription; penalties for such sentiment are provided in the Burke-Wadsworth act itself and in the Smith act. Commonly regarded as simply a measure for fingerprinting and registration of aliens, the Smith act is a masterpiece of repression. One of its provisions makes it "unlawful for any person, with intent, to interfere with, impair, or influence the loyalty, morale, or discipline of the military or naval forces of the United States"—which is pretty broad language. But the brass hats will find they have to go far beyond any existing limitations on civil liberties to clamp down on an above-board and public campaign on behalf of a bill which has been introduced in Congress.

WHEELER RESOLUTION

Finally the APM is interested in passage of the Wheeler resolution to investigate both the foreign connections and the profits of the munitions makers. Administration forces have been thinking on and off of a nice little investigation of a few selected and relatively unimportant firms—conducted with Marquis of Queensbury rules by a safe man like Senator Pepper of Florida. But they are expected to move heaven and earth to block the Wheeler resolution, which has teeth in it and would result in an investigation headed by a man who has fought conscription and many other administration moves toward war. In the present setting of national and international affairs, a real investigation of the merchants of death could be more explosive than the Nye committee's findings. It could do wonders to prick the bubble of war propaganda; it would collect a veritable rogues' gallery of super-patriotic war profiteers who have remunerative business connections with both belligerents in Europe. It could teach the American people the identity of the real fifth columnists in this country. It could point to the social and economic forces behind conscription and the other moves to bring fascism to America in the name of fighting Hitler. Certainly a bona fide inquiry into the ramifications of the munitions lobby in Washington would slow up the march toward our participation in war and go a long way toward helping the peace lobby of the common people win its battle.

ADAM LAPIN.

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Why Vote for War?

AN EDITORIAL

This editorial on American foreign policy is the second of a series on the issues of the election campaign.

IT IS no longer necessary for NEW MASSES to insist that no differences in principle distinguish Mr. Roosevelt from Mr. Willkie so far as foreign policy is concerned. Last week the New York *Times* announced its support for Mr. Willkie with the observation that the "agreement between the two presidential candidates on the fundamentals of a foreign policy is a deeply fortunate fact. . . ." The editors of this powerful newspaper, which is the oracle and conscience of big business, have brushed aside the extravagant bombast of the campaign managers, the evasive deceptions of the Democratic and Republican platforms. Their choice is based on altogether different standards, such as the "reliability" of one candidate as against the other, their relative "understanding of the need for increased production," their relative respect for traditions. The *Times* agrees with NEW MASSES that on the grounds of foreign policy there is no contest. Therefore, if one disagrees with the foreign policy of the New York *Times,* one must find a candidate outside of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The same truth will be found in the current controversy in which Henry Wallace has suggested that Willkie stands for "appeasement," and Willkie has replied in his Peoria speech that Roosevelt himself was responsible for "selling Czechoslovakia down the river." The fact is that by his last-minute appeal to Hitler on Sept. 27, 1938, the President certainly facilitated Chamberlain's game, just as he tolerated the notorious activities of Hugh Wilson, William Bullitt, and Joseph Kennedy, his ambassadors to Berlin, Paris, and London, just as the whole crew in his State Department, and he himself too, were responsible for the criminal embargo against republican Spain. But the truth is also that the Republican Party led no fight against the President at that time, nor did Wendell Willkie. It was the progressive forces, in the first instance the Communists, who opposed the Munich conspiracy.

Nor is it possible to say that the President has now abandoned appeasement, for that is precisely his policy toward Japan's aggression in China—of which Wendell Willkie has not said one critical word. "Appeasement" is a phenomenon of the decay of capitalism, in which the fear of socialism, the fear of democracy inspires the ruling classes to come to terms with their imperialist opponents at the expense of their own people. As representatives of the American ruling class, neither Roosevelt nor Willkie are guarantors against "appeasement." The real choice before the American people lies neither in war nor appeasement. The entire discussion is therefore only a device whereby both candidates may evade the purpose of their present and future policies.

What is the function of a foreign policy for the American people? It should protect their interests in the face of dangers; it should employ their influence and prestige to minimize and, where possible, eliminate those dangers. In our opinion the danger to the American people lies in the fact that a war has developed in several parts of the world, a war whose purpose is the revision of relations among the big imperialist powers, a war for the hegemony over weaker peoples, for the exploitation of colonial markets—an imperialist war.

The real danger arises because the American capitalist class is lusting to participate in this revision of world relations *on a basis most favorable to itself.* In fact it is already participating, and awaits only the most favorable moment to declare its undeclared war. The American capitalist class seeks great profits in this struggle, and is already making these profits both by assistance to Britain and the manufacture of armaments for the US. Big business sees in this war the opportunity for *exclusive* domination of the peoples of Canada and Latin America: that is the ultimate meaning of the acquisition of naval and air bases in the hemisphere, the reincarnation of the Monroe Doctrine. Big business sees in this war the opportunity to negotiate a Pacific "peace" at China's expense, but not Japan's victory; to preserve for itself an area of investment and exploitation in the Far East. This is the meaning of its economic support to Japan at the same time that it warns Tokyo against encroaching on its own preserves in the Dutch East Indies, and employs the *threat* of an embargo to bring Japan to its terms. Wall Street sees in this war the opportunity to grasp the inheritance of the British empire: such is the meaning of the agreement with Canada, the plans to take over British naval bases in all parts of the world, the consistent encouragement to Britain to continue the war, all the while the United States builds a super-two-ocean navy to oust or supplant the British Navy before the war is over.

Whatever one thinks of these objectives, the most terrible indictment of them is that American men and women are asked to sacrifice their living standards, freedom, education, life itself, to achieve them. The handful of big businessmen who are intoxicated with the vision of sitting on top of the imperialist heap cannot achieve it themselves: they want the people to achieve it for them. The issue of this election campaign *for the capitalist class* is merely which candidate will prove most reliable, most flexible in getting the people to do the dirty job for Wall Street without arousing the suspicion of the masses and without alienating their loyalties to either capitalist party.

The problem in foreign policy, as NEW MASSES sees it, is not to assist big business in making up its mind about one candidate or another. *The problem is to dissociate, to distinguish the interests of the great majority of people from those of Wall Street.* This crystallization of independence in American politics was begun in 1936; it must be continued in 1940.

If the American people are to reject the policies of their own worst enemies, who have visited the disaster of crisis and unemployment upon American life in the past ten years; if we are to defeat our ruling class, which conceives of America as something which it owns, it seems to us that we must evolve a foreign policy along these general lines:

1. Withdrawal of all economic and political support for one side or another in the present war; the renewal of full neutrality of word and deed.

2. The abandonment of economic and military penetration in the hemisphere, the encouragement of industrialization for the Latin American peoples, the division of the big landed estates, the development of education and collaboration with the popular, democratic forces among them.

3. The abandonment of the present maneuvers with Japan, and the immediate expansion of economic and political assistance to China

(Continued on page 14)

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(Continued from page 13)

—which is the bulwark of democracy among the colonial peoples.

4. The immediate approach of the American government to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics for the purpose of joint assistance to China, and mutual security in the Far East, involving exploration of the possibility of bringing the war in Europe to an end without annexations and indemnities, without appeasement and unequal treaties.

5. The encouragement of solidarity between the American people and the peoples of all belligerents and all oppressed nations.

Such a program is essentially the goal toward which the American people were moving before this war broke out. It represents a program of independence from the ambitions of British or German imperialism, independence from the ambitions of American imperialism first of all. In the context of such a program, the physical and moral preparedness will be necessary and justified.

Wall Street is arrogant today because both its parties have a jiujitsu hold on the political life of the people. What they fear most is the inevitable progress of the working class, the farmers, the progressive sections of the professionals and middle classes toward political independence. NEW MASSES supports the standard bearers of the Communist Party in this campaign—not only because it shares their goal of socialism, but because it believes that a significant vote for Earl Browder and James W. Ford will be a protest against war and fascism, hastening the process of independence from the old parties, which alone guarantees our future.

Viewpoint on the Week

LAST week's news was dominated by the visit to Berlin of Spain's Interior minister, Serrano Suner, while Herr von Ribbentrop traveled to Rome for extended consultations with Count Ciano and Mussolini. Nobody knows of course what these gentlemen talked about; the speculations in the European press, as reported by American correspondents, remain speculations only. It seems to us, however, that this juncture provides an opportunity for several generalizations about the course and objectives of the war: first, that so far from coming to a sudden, dramatic close, the chances are that the war will continue, will involve many other countries and spread to many new regions. Second, it seems to us that no separation should be made between the battle for Britain and the British empire; Germany's initiative enables her to hammer at Britain, but the ultimate purpose of capitulation or conquest on that island remains the control of colonies and markets. Third, a distinction ought to be made between the Axis objectives in the Mediterranean and Africa and their objectives at the mouth of the Danube, the Dardanelles, and the Middle East: in the latter area, they definitely confront the position of Turkey and, ultimately, the interests of the USSR.

THE BRITISH POSITION is clearly defensive and Churchill himself speaks of taking the initiative some time in 1942. The German problem has been either to secure capitulation through the activities of the old Munich crowd who still hold many reins in the Conservative party and elsewhere, or else to attempt physical conquest of the decisive areas of the island: London, the Midlands, the river Clyde. Obviously, the Germans would prefer capitulation; they made many efforts in this direction all summer and will keep making them when possible. The likelihood seems otherwise. Fortified by the fifty American destroyers, and perhaps the promise of bombers and other equipment, the British ruling class seems to prefer the surrender of many imperialist positions to the United States rather than to Germany. Last week's discussions of the "Union Now" proposal imply how difficult things must be for the British ruling class; they also signify England's hope of purchasing American participation on their side before long. As for the prospect of resistance: a returning American army mission last week pronounced the chances good, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson revised a previous opinion and also pronounced England's chances good. Our own impression is that the German bombers have done real damage to Britain's southeasterly area and the London railway centers, while continued night raids are undoubtedly hampering production. Although the Royal Air Force is certainly hitting back, and the British Navy is active, for instance, the important shelling of Dakar, it should be noted that the returning American army mission admits that Germany has thus far employed only one-fourth of her air force. So, unless there is tempestuous weather on the channel, the probability of an invasion attempt remains—whether successful and at what cost is another story. Simultaneously, and as part of the same battle, further Axis movements against the empire should be expected. Discussions with Spain must have involved ironing out German-Italian differences, as well as prospects of a more thorough exploitation of Spanish resources. Equally important, however, is the probability of an attempt to take Gibraltar and expand the penetration into Africa. The Italian campaigns in Egypt and in British Kenya have the same objective: the redivision of Africa either as a factor to force capitulation or else a diversion in the struggle for the island itself.

THE BALKAN PROBLEM is the same and yet different for the Axis. On the one hand, the Balkans are a rich agricultural reservoir and source of important minerals. Greece is certainly of strategic importance for any Italian campaign against the British naval outposts at Malta, Cyprus, and Suez; the revival of Italian claims upon Thrace, perhaps in conjunction with Bulgarian claims for an opening to the Mediterranean, would not be surprising. On the other hand, Turkey cannot relish the encroachment of the Italian navy and airforce in the eastern Mediterranean, and certainly not in Syria and Palestine; while the Saadabad pact binding Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Egypt should be remembered. Judging also from the recent Soviet note, which emphasizes its interests as a Danubian power, and judging from the historic Soviet interest in the security of the Black Sea and trans-Caspian area, it would seem that the Axis powers cannot pursue their aims at the Danube delta, in eastern Greece, or in Asia Minor, without considering the position of the USSR.

War in Indo-China

ONE of the most popular arguments for imperialism has been that, without the "blessing" of the dominating power, the colonial peoples could not "protect" themselves. It was on such grounds that French imperialism conquered Indo-China and suppressed the nationalist movement among its Annamite peoples. For decades the citizens of France as well as Indo-China were heavily taxed to provide "defense" for the colonies, all of which culminates now in Vichy's capitulation before Japanese warships and armies. Last July France permitted Japan to land "inspectors" over the railway from Haiphong to the Chinese city of Kunming, an important Chinese supply line. Japan followed this concession with demands for military and air bases, while Siam—a Japanese puppet to the west of Indo-China—demanded the revision of the border in its favor. These demands were the subject of long negotiation, and while the French authorities were capitulating, Japan brought up troops and ships to the strategic isle of Hainan. China's foreign minister has announced that crack Chinese forces would make the defense of Indo-China their own, but the many fine words of protest from Secretary of State Hull were nullified by the astonishing fact which has now come to light —*although the State Department forbade the shipment of arms to Indo-China, Siam, which is Japan's accomplice, has been licensed for $604,000 worth of American arms and munitions in the past eight months, of which $468,000 worth of airplanes arrived from this country in August.*

THUS A NEW AREA of warfare has developed in Asia. It is too early to judge military progress: the northern terrain of Indo-China is mountainous, and Japan will probably be most successful along the seacoast. It is unclear whether French and native troops are resisting; much depends on whether the

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traditional hostility of the Annam population to the wealthy Chinese on their soil is overcome, and whether contact is made between the Chinese and the native nationalist forces, among whom the Communist Party has been quite strong. Diplomatically, Japan's action must have had German sanction, especially since this will cause Britain and the United States considerable worry. In fact, a major crisis is likely to develop, first because China cannot afford to be outflanked on the south; second because if Japan can cut across the plains of southern Indo-China and (in cooperation with Siam) dominate the Kra Isthmus, the British base at Singapore will be cut off from Burma—with all that means for Burma, India, and the future of the entire south Pacific. As we went to press, Washington's reaction was undetermined. It seems likely, however, that the antagonism between American and Japanese imperialism will be heightened, probably sealing the deal for American use of the British naval bases in the Pacific.

Argentina, Uruguay

THE clash of rival imperialisms for control of the nations south of the Rio Grande is accented by two developments of the last few days: the Argentine embargo on imports from the United States, and the Uruguay government's arrest of eight Nazi leaders charged with conspiring against the country's sovereignty. The Argentine move has been interpreted as a bargaining weapon in the forthcoming negotiations for a loan from the Export-Import Bank. This may well be, yet the kind of bargaining that is introduced by a bristling embargo can hardly be regarded as friendly. The fact is that Argentina is Britain's Big Bertha in its undeclared war with the United States for the economic prizes of Latin America. British capital controls Argentina's railroads, motor transports, the greater part of the meat industry, which is the foundation of the country's economic life, and a large section of the oil resources. In 1939 the United Kingdom took 32.9 percent of all Argentina's exports, while the United States took only 11.9 percent. In the same year Argentina received 19.9 percent of its imports from the United Kingdom and 17.2 percent from the United States.

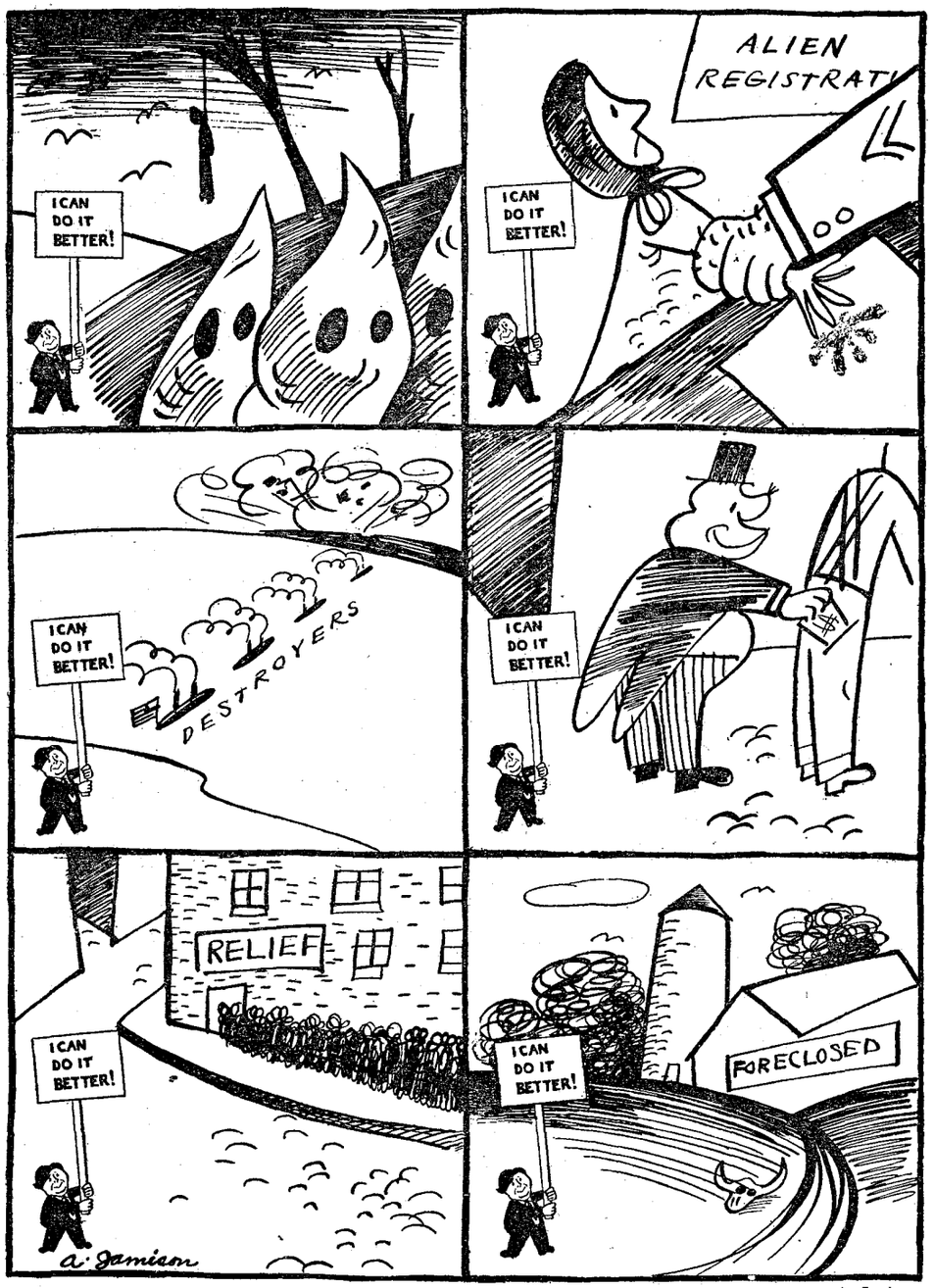
At the recent Pan-American conference at Havana, the Argentine delegation proved a stumbling block to the plans of American imperialism for a "collective trusteeship" over the possessions of European belligerents in this hemisphere. It was finally forced into line just as the British government itself was some weeks later compelled to yield to Washington in the matter of air and naval bases. The sudden embargo move indicates that, despite the "unity" achieved at Havana, the ancient conflicts continue to smolder, breaking into flame at the first opportunity.

In the arrest and scheduled prosecution of eight Nazi leaders in Uruguay, American imperialism has won a victory, this time over its German rival. There is no doubt that the activities of Nazi agents threaten the sovereignty of Uruguay, as they do of other Latin American republics. But the sovereignty of these countries is also threatened and in fact seriously impaired by the activities of predatory American and British interests. Last June the United States sent two cruisers, the *Quincy* and the *Wichita,* to Montevideo—just in case the leaders of the Uruguayan government, who were disposed to be lenient with Nazi agents, had any doubts as to who was boss. Further pressure, both military and economic, has now brought results.

Willkie—FDR—Hoover

AFTER a few practice shots—most of them wild—Windy Wendell Willkie last week fired the opening gun of his presidential campaign with a speech at Coffeyville, Kan. His ammunition consisted entirely of blanks. The simple homespun millionaire came out four-square for "the homely virtues that we learned when we were boys and girls." Washington, he assured his listeners, is an evil place infested with "cynics," or, as he dubbed them, "the intelligentsia," "who scoff at our simple virtues, particularly those simple virtues which you and I learned here in the Midwest." And he offered himself as the man destined to save democracy. These dazzling sallies inspired the Republican National Committee to declare that the Coffeyville speech "will stand in history as one of the greatest utterances ever made by man."

The GOP nominee, swinging to the West Coast, made his two most important oratorical contributions at Los Angeles and San Francisco. At Los Angeles he delivered an unabashed paean to big business as the great fruitful soil from which all blessings flow. At San Francisco he declared his fervent sup-



A. Jamison

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port of Roosevelt's foreign policy ("We must send, and we must keep sending, aid to Britain, our first line of defense and our only remaining friend"), but declared his readiness to save the country from Roosevelt.

Herbert Hoover took advantage of Willkie's campaign opening to offer his own brand of salvation. The former GOP President—there are others like him high in both the Democratic and Republican party councils—is spokesman for that section of Wall Street which regards a fascist victory in Europe as almost inevitable and is preparing to do business as usual. In a speech at the 200th Anniversary celebration of the University of Pennsylvania Hoover urged, in carefully obscure phrases, a program of autarchy and "industrial efficiency," though he hypocritically denied that this program envisaged lower living standards—to enable American imperialism to compete with its totalitarian rivals.

Hoover was followed two days later at the University of Pennsylvania by President Roosevelt, who delivered another of his "non-political" addresses in doubletalk. As in his speech before the teamsters' union convention, Roosevelt sought to recapture the manner of the 1936 campaign, posing as the champion of the common people against "the few at the top." What he said had about as much relation to reality—the reality of Messrs. Stettinius and Knudsen in the driver's seat of America's war economy—as Wendell Willkie's homilies on democracy. No matter how you slice it, the program of Roosevelt and/or Willkie means reaction and war.

Repeal the Draft!

REPRESENTATIVE Vito Marcantonio was the only member of Congress to vote against the huge and wasteful armament appropriations that are paving the way for America's participation in Europe's war. He was the most articulate and vigorous fighter in the House against conscription. Last week the voters of his New York district were asked to judge his record at the polls. Marcantonio was renominated on the American Labor Party and Republican tickets, and missed being the Democratic nominee by less than 200 votes. His victory was but one in the overwhelming sweep of ALP progressives in twenty out of twenty-three Manhattan assembly districts.

Thereupon Marcantonio, who believes his function in Washington is truly to reflect the needs and wishes of his constituents, introduced a bill to repeal the Burke-Wadsworth compulsory conscription act. "This fight has only just begun," Marcantonio said. The American Peace Mobilization immediately declared its support of the bill, which is backed by a growing number of unions.

At this point, the army objected. Democracy or no, Gen. James Chaney of the Air Corps told the Conference of Mayors in New York City, "purely vocal un-Americanism" must be "nipped in the bud." He would hear no criticism of the draft. Mr. Knudsen of the National Defense Commission patriotically concurred. But Gen. Hugh Johnson in his syndicated column reluctantly admitted, "I never realized until receiving some of my more recent mail, and this present Western trip, how bitter, resentful, and widespread is the opposition to the draft—both of the National Guard and of this selective service." The American people will choose between the redoubtable General Chaney's program of joy through military strength and the Marcantonio bill.

Mr. Hillman Fails

SIDNEY HILLMAN has a union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Whenever Sidney Hillman feels moved to call a convention, the business agents (carefully selected by Mr. Hillman's carefully selected henchmen) are designated as delegates. They vote as Mr. Hillman orders.

That is the way Mr. Hillman likes conventions to be run. That is the way his carefully selected stooge, Gustave A. Strebel, president of the N. Y. State CIO Council, was instructed to conduct the CIO convention at Rochester last weekend.

Mr. Strebel did his best. Unfortunately he could not choose the delegates from unions other than the Amalgamated, the textile workers, and a few locals of the retail workers. But with imported thugs and the Rochester police standing by, Mr. Strebel felt strong enough to authorize his carefully selected credentials committee to exclude one hundred delegates from the convention. For these delegates came from unions whose progressivism irks Mr. Hillman. It was hoped that the convention, run in this orderly fashion, would be free to Red-bait and to endorse the candidacy of President Roosevelt, who had given Mr. Hillman such a nice job on the national defense committee.

The remaining unions balked—transport, marine, auto, newspaper, furniture, utility, shoe, glass, mine, fur, electric, and others. Thirteen international unions walked out of the convention, to be joined immediately by delegates from every union except the three owned by Mr. Hillman, leaving behind 282 delegates out of 638. Then John L. Lewis intervened. Through Allan S. Haywood representing the national office of the CIO, he pronounced Hillman's convention illegal. The attempt to turn the CIO into an election committee for the Democratic Party had failed. Mr. Hillman was provoked. But the CIO was saved; it still belongs to its membership.

Roundup

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT: Joseph E. McWilliams, leader of the anti-Semitic Christian Mobilizers, was given an alibi and a ten-day vacation in Bellevue Hospital's psychiatric ward by Magistrate Edgar Bromberger, following his conviction for disorderly conduct. The magistrate chose to regard McWilliams' actions as indications of possible insanity rather than what they are—planned fascist incitements. McWilliams, a candidate for the Republican nomination to Congress, was defeated at the polls last week. . . . Five Christian Front defendants in federal court, about whom a federal jury disagreed in June when it acquitted nine others after a long and phony trial, were again gently nudged by the law. Their second trial, postponed twice, has been put off once more while the accused terrorists walk the streets. . . . Two members of Brooklyn's notorious Murder, Inc., Buggsy Goldstein and Pittsburgh Phil Strauss, are headed for the hot seat—convicted on charges of murder.

THIS FREEDOM: Forty-five eminent Americans, including college presidents, magistrates, ministers, lawyers, appealed to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Jackson to admit to bail imprisoned officials of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, convicted of "obstructing justice" on testimony of "questionable and biased witnesses." A second committee urged Mrs. Roosevelt to aid. . . . Quondam liberal and now "New Deal" Governor Olson of California succeeded in pushing through the state legislature a bill barring the ballot to any party using the designation "Communist" or any derivative of the word. . . . Dorothy Thompson, who hailed the traitorous French government as the defender of civilization, democracy, decency, and "our way of life" back in April when she visited the Maginot Line and ate a cold bird and drank a cold bottle, wrote three columns last week, eating her words. France she now says was rotten with the vices of her politicians and her upper classes; the masses, rightly informed by the Communists, were betrayed by political leaders. In a fourth column Miss Thompson hailed Winston Churchill and Britain as the defenders of civilization, democracy, decency, and "our way of life." And so Dotty goes. . . . The National Defense Commission hastened to inform the Department of Justice that it opposes the projected anti-trust suit against twenty-two oil companies as "detrimental to national defense." . . . Minnesota's former Rep. John Bernard, running for the Farmer-Labor nomination to Congress, beat four who campaigned against him on his record of supporting loyalist Spain and opposing the present war. Elmer Benson, former governor, was nominated by the progressive Farmer-Laborites by a two-to-one vote; he will oppose the renegade FLP Senator Shipstead, now a Republican candidate.

TORPEDOED: A new horror in the midst of this horrible war, the drowning of eighty-three children on an unnamed British refugee liner which was struck by a Nazi torpedo six hundred miles off Great Britain, is recorded in reports from London. We hope that this tragedy, which is part of the unceasing slaughter of British and German innocents, will not develop into another *Lusitania* incident.

IN MEMORIAM: Mrs. Caro Lloyd Strobell, 81, descendant of the American Revolution, co-owner of the *Daily Worker*, passed away at her summer home in Little Compton, R. I.

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REVIEW AND COMMENT

Laureates of Betrayal—II

They deserted just before the last war, too. "They alchemized the steel bonds of militarism into golden Liberty Bonds." The second article by V. J. Jerome.

IN THE present century our own country saw a wave of desertions by intellectuals in 1917, on the entry of the United States into the war. Liberal and "socialist" intellectuals then vied in delirious patriotism with the old-line patrioteers. They acted as though from a compulsion to shout down the consciousness of their own betrayal. When actual war was not yet imminent, when neutrality was still useful to the munitions mongers and war financiers, the intellectual astrologers read unfading peace in America's lodestar, the intellectual palmists traced peace as the life line in Uncle Sam's open hand, the intellectual calendarers foretold that April 6 would never come. But when Wilson's "organized common peace" was sealed, capital nodded to the Capitol, and the nation that was "too proud to fight" was hauled from home and factory and field, shoved into khaki, and shipped "over there." Then the intellectuals—oh, the intellectuals!—they made the poems for Flanders Fields and the songs to keep the home fires burning, they painted the "Uncle Sam Needs You!" posters and drew up the Loyalty Leaflets and wrote the Red-White-and-Blue Books, they alchemized the steel bonds of militarism into golden Liberty Bonds, and breathed freedom into the regimented sauerkraut so that it became liberty cabbage. To the boy they hadn't raised to be a soldier they sang, "Johnny, Get Your Gun!"

The *"New Republic* Socialist," Walter Lippmann, after the sinking of the *Titanic,* had exposed the class lines of the general press. "It was very noticeable," he pointed out, "that the anguish of the first-cabin passengers meant more to the newspapers than did that of the crew or steerage." *(New Republic,* Dec. 19, 1914.) Now installed as a leading war propagandist in George Creel's Committee of Public Information—a head engineer of that same class-line press—he drummed up the war of the first-cabin passengers. (Among the social patriots to serve on this War Department committee were William English Walling, Charles Edward Russell, and John Spargo. Creel himself, a Midwestern liberal, had been an occasional contributor to the *Masses,* in whose columns he had reported the massacre of the Ludlow miners.)

ACCUSED GERMAN PEOPLE

Robert Rives La Monte, liberal in socialist clothing, drew up along racist lines an indictment of the "German spirit." Where many an outright imperialist contented himself with fixing the "German war guilt" on Prussian militarism, or junkerdom, on the kaiser, this Friend of the People leveled the charge of imperialist aggression at "the spirit of the German people": "And it was that spirit behind the German war machine which made it such a deadly menace to the cultural heritage of the human race. No such spirit lurked behind the British Navy." (*The Class Struggle,* July-August 1917; as also the ensuing quotations from La Monte.) Indeed, as to imperialism, "the tide had already begun to recede in Great Britain . . . the England of the past five years was much less imperialistic than the England of Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain. . . ." (And this a year after Ireland's Bloody Easter Day!) And so—"I think it a glorious privilege to be living today to do one's part, however humble. . . ."

Rounding out his thesis of the German spirit, La Monte made the debacle of the Second International the guilt exclusively of the German Social Democrats: "They proved they were not internationalists, but Germans; or, to be more exact, kaiserites. . . ."

Of course, German social democracy, long corroded by opportunism, ceased to be a working class party when it supported the kaiser's war. But truth compels the further statement in regard to all parties but the Bolshevik: *they were not internationalists, not English, French, or Russian internationalists, but national social-imperialists.* Not *German* social democracy, but *social democracy* in Germany and in all lands—the Second International—having failed the working class in its revolutionary task against the imperialist war, had collapsed. And in that collapse were crushed the La Montes in all their "national" guises, the American type admitting: "For myself I am proud to say I have not paid one cent of dues to the Socialist Party since the German socialists voted for the war budget on Aug. 4, 1914."

Miserable was the retreat of that parading "summer soldier," Max Eastman, who had posed as a Marxist leader of intellectuals. At the first *Masses* trial, early in 1918, Eastman stated in court:

> My sentiments have changed a good deal. I think that when the boys begin to go over to Europe and fight to the strains of the anthem; you feel very different about it. You noticed when it was played out there in the street the other day, I did stand up. . . . And I thought how terrible a thing it is that while they are dying over there, while the country is gradually coming to a feeling of the solemnity and seriousness of that thing, the Department of Justice should be compelling men of your distinguished ability, and others like you, all over the country, to waste their time persecuting upright American citizens, when they might be hunting up spies of the enemy and the profiteers and friends of Prussianism in this country, and prosecuting them.

In the crucial test Eastman covered himself with cowardice, foreshadowing the counter-revolutionary into which he was soon to degenerate.

In the same test Gene Debs, Charles Ruthenberg, and Bill Haywood, revolutionists, spoke out the passionate anti-imperialism of the class-conscious workers, which brought upon them imprisonment in the jails of capitalism—and enshrined them in the hearts of the common people.

The "Socialist" leader, John Spargo, had stated: "It is easy to affirm international solidarity in times of peace . . . but the test of our faith comes with war and the threat of war." Ironic prophecy! Scarcely two years had passed before Spargo complained in the public press (with reference to the persecution of the IWW): "The stupidity of the policy of repression and suppression is making it increasingly difficult for radicals to support the government in its conduct of the war." (New York *Evening Post,* Sept. 10, 1917.)

Yes, difficult was the job of the Spargos, Gomperses, and their American Alliance for Labor and Democracy to put over the war as "an honorable war," as "labor's war." Not a new day without new embarrassments. There was the Mooney frameup to be explained away, and the Youngstown massacre; and now, since the war, Bloody Butte, the lynching of Frank Little, the Bisbee deportations, the jailing of Debs, and the sentencing of a hundred IWW leaders, among them Bill Haywood.

THE TRADITION OF RANDOLPH BOURNE

Like a blade through falsehood flashed the challenge of a young progressive intellectual leader, Randolph Bourne. Courageously he freed himself from the tutelage of pragmatism and its theoretician, John Dewey, whom he now saw hideously revealed with Gompers, Spargo, and the liberal gentry of the *New Republic* as war technicians of imperialism. Not with democracy had the war intellectuals identified themselves, he charged, but with everything undemocratic in American life: "They have assumed the leadership for war of those very classes whom American democracy has been immemorially fighting."

He exposed the wailers for "poor little Belgium":

> Numbers of intelligent people who had never been stirred by the horrors of capitalistic peace at home were shaken out of their slumber by the

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horrors of war in Belgium. . . . Hearts that had felt only ugly contempt for democratic strivings at home beat in tune with the struggle for freedom abroad.

He excoriated the social-chauvinist intellectuals:

. . . they called us in terms that might have emanated from any bourgeois journal to defend democracy and civilization, just as if it was not exactly against those very bourgeois democracies and capitalist civilizations that Socialists had been fighting for decades.

He hurled the charge of hypocrisy at the war government and its labor and social democratic servitors—*the charge which goes to the heart of the question* today as it did then: "Which do our leaders really fear more, the menace of imperial Germany or the liberating influence of socialist Russia?"

Warning against the demagogy of "the war to end war," foreseeing that an imperialist armistice would be but a prelude to a new world slaughter, he summoned his generation of intellectuals to its tasks:

There is work to be done to prevent this war of ours from passing into popular mythology as a holy crusade. . . . There must be some intellectuals who are not willing to use the old discredited counters again and to support a peace which would leave all the old inflammable materials of armament lying about the world.

There *were* such intellectuals, Randolph Bourne—hating, as you hated, the warmakers and traitors. Hating and directing their hate in the struggle of the proletarian forces to sweep from the face of the earth all the old discredited counters.

A turning point had been reached in the course of history. In entering the war of 1914-18, world capitalism, already in its moribund, monopolistic stage, entered its general crisis. In every major country an octopus-like state capitalism subjected an entire national economy to imperialism's war program. The regimentation and exploitation of the working masses, whose slight wage rises were more than offset by the heightened cost of living, while the war lords gathered in profits, intensified the class struggle to revolutionary proportions in a number of countries.

In the United States capitalism entered its decaying stage toward the turn of the century. The objective conditions were maturing for the political unification of the working class, which could then gather its reserves toward the struggle for power. But there was lacking the matured, subjective factor—a class-conscious proletariat allied with and leading the farming masses, the city middle classes, and the oppressed Negro people. To prepare the working class for its historic revolutionary role the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party, came upon the scene.

A basic issue confronted the people in the world war.

Should finance capital, parasitic and decaying, protract its domination by involving the country in an imperialist plunder war? Should it, under the banner of false patriotism, conscript the people's lives and liberties, despoil labor of its rights, and paralyze its organizations? Or should the workers recognize that the imperialist war is fundamentally a war on labor and the common people; that the quarrels of robbers command no loyalty from their victims; that labor's task is to resist the exploiters' encroachments on its rights and organizations, thus weakening the positions of its own imperialism and bringing nearer the hour of its downfall?

The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, along with the "liberal" intellectuals, accepted the first alternative.

The Russell-Spargo-Walling-Stokes fraternity deserted the Socialist Party, in which they had been alien bodies, and helped the war regime carry through a "constructive program."

The Executive Council of the AFL assured the workers: "It is a crusade . . . not a capitalist war." Gompers, like Hillman today, was appointed to the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense to herd labor into the "national unity." Gompers, who received his appointment in October 1916—a month before the he-kept-us-out-of-war elections!—guarded Wall Street's secret well.

"I invited to assist me on the War Committee on Labor,"* blandly relates this spokesman of trade unionism, "a group of representatives of organized labor, prominent employers, important financiers, publicists, and technicians." (Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor,* Vol. II, p. 362.) The non-capitalist character of the war was fully established by the participation of John D. Rockefeller Jr. in that War Committee on Labor.

MORRIS HILLQUIT'S CENTRISM

The so-called Centrist Socialists, the Kautskyans, comprising mainly petty-bourgeois intellectuals, maneuvered to weaken the struggle against the exposed social-chauvinists. Headed by Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party, the Centrists adopted an opportunist policy typified in a statement of the party's Campaign Committee in New York: "The Socialist Party is an international party. We do not favor a separate peace, a withdrawal by America to leave Europe to struggle alone to its ruin."

Pretending intercontinental solidarity, Hillquit and his associates systematically sabotaged the promotion of mass anti-war action, made mandatory by the party's St. Louis convention, whose resolution had branded the declaration of war "as a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world."

Ranged against the imperialist camp with its "liberal-labor-Socialist" helpmates and their Centrist conciliators were the working class forces of revolutionary socialism. These were the conscious forces of peace and socialism symbolized by the New Russia, where the most vulnerable wing of the world imperialist fortress had fallen to the power of the proletariat. They were the movement following, even though not yet with full clarity, the Leninist line against the war: instead of choosing between two imperialist camps, to utilize the war situation for strengthening the key positions of the proletariat and thus prepare its forces for the struggle for socialism.

An integral part of this movement were those intellectuals who had accepted the position of revolutionary Marxism, of the class struggle as against class collaboration, of proletarian internationalism as against imperialist chauvinism. They marched together with Gene Debs and Charles E. Ruthenberg and Earl Browder—fighters against imperialism and its wars. They were intellectuals like John Reed who helped found the revolutionary party of the new type, the Communist Party, risen out of the struggle of the American working class against imperialist war and freed from the policies of class collaboration and reformism. They responded to Lenin's voice from the young Soviet Republic: ". . . the American revolutionary proletarians are destined now to play an especially important role as irreconcilable foes of American imperialism."

V. J. JEROME.

*A subcommittee of the Advisory Commission, headed by Gompers.

German White Paper

THE GERMAN WHITE PAPER. *Foreword by C. Hartley Grattan. Howell, Soskin. $1.*

BY NOW it is hardly necessary to go to the Nazis for the lowdown on our former ambassador to France, William Bullitt. His recent address at Philadelphia, together with the newspaper chronicles of how he handed Paris over to the Germans last June, have given most Americans the measure of this dangerous man. The German White Paper's sixteen documents (found in the Polish Foreign Office at Warsaw) may be forgeries, in whole or in part, but certainly what they tell us about Bullitt jibes very well with what we have come to know of him. In the opinion of C. Hartley Grattan's very intelligent introduction "it is likely that they are authentic documents." Four or five of these are minor: the report of a conversation between Marshal Pilsudski and the British ambassador to Warsaw in 1935, a note about the pro-Germanism of some Czech industrialist after Munich, a disclosure of the solidarity of British, French, and American naval attaches in Portugal, some details on Anglo-Swedish trade relations—these are all so unrelated to the others that one wonders why they were included in this collection.

The real meat of the White Paper is, first, the observations of the Polish ambassador in Washington, Jerzy Potocki, about the state of American opinion after Munich. His conversations with Bullitt reveal the latter's intense anti-Soviet prejudices; while Potocki's

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comments on the anti-fascist wave of American feeling in those months reveal an equally intense anti-Semitism. It is outrageous that such a man is permitted the hospitality of American soil. The second group of important documents come from the pen of Jules Lukasiewicz, the Polish ambassador in Paris. His comments on the pessimism in France after Munich will be valuable for an understanding of the French defeat this June. There are some excellent touches here about Bonnet, who is revealed as an inveterate liar. Lukasiewicz appreciates keenly that France's weakness after Munich impelled her to fortify herself with eastern European alliances, among them the guarantee to Rumania and Poland, but he is also keen enough to see that the ultimate implication of such guarantees was war with Germany, in which Poland might be left stranded by the Western powers.

SIDELIGHTS

Lukasiewicz appears to be such a competent observer of France that his own interview with Bullitt and his estimate of American post-Munich policy acquire greater significance than Potocki's: it is here that Bullitt is reported to have said, "Should war break out we shall certainly not take part in it at the beginning, but we shall end it." Finally, there are several documents reporting Britain's attitude toward both the USSR and Poland in March 1939, as seen by the Polish ambassador to London, Edward Raczynski. The Poles had few illusions about the sincerity of Britain's approaches to the USSR. There is abundant material here on British trade negotiations with Moscow and equally valuable sidelights on Soviet Ambassador Maisky's reaction toward Chamberlain's maneuvers.

The German White Paper achieves a certain sensation by its reflections on the activities and attitudes of the American ambassadors to London and Paris; it is more valuable for the light it throws, from the Polish angle, on Allied policy in Eastern Europe, and on the Allied negotiations with the USSR.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

Joe's Son John

WHY ENGLAND SLEPT, *by John E. Kennedy. Introduction by Henry R. Luce. Wilfred Funk, Inc. $2.*

"MRS. KENNEDY'S boy, Joe," is a very smart Boston Irishman who has made a lot of money and become ambassador to the Court of St. James'; time alone will reveal whether in that capacity he is really laboring to save the empire which made an exile of Mrs. Kennedy and ten million other Irish men and women, or taking a sweet revenge by keeping the cocked pistol of American imperialism at John Bull's head until that pawky old pirate hands over his loot to Roosevelt-blest America.

It has been rumored that Mrs. Kennedy's boy Joe's son John is a bright young man, but Harvard and the University of London seem to have got him. It would be charitable to say it is not his fault that his book is one of the dullest works ever to waste good paper, since obviously dullness is inseparable from the story he tells within the terms he has chosen; but after all he chose the terms. He might have let the face of reality appear just now and then in his narrative of how Britain stumbled to war; he might have admitted a few of the more obvious facts.

A defense of Chamberlain's surrender at Munich on the ground that Britain's alleged "military unpreparedness" made any other course impossible, will hardly hold water unless it can be shown that acceptance of the Soviet offer of collective security would not have compensated for British weakness; but young John doesn't even deign to mention the fact that collective security was an open alternative to surrender. Talk about "Hamlet with Hamlet left out"—here is history with the principal facts left out.

The thesis of this book is not only that the British people ardently desired peace—which is true—but also that the British imperial government so shared the popular passion that year after year it reduced armament expenditures till finally old John Bull could only tremble when that swaggering neighbor's kid, Adolf, aimed a peashooter at him. But by the tables Mr. Kennedy cites, in the fiscal year 1930-31 British arms appropriations were equivalent to $535,000,000, while her ally France (remember when they were allies, in fact The Allies?) spent $455,300,000. Forget for a moment the astronomical "defense" appropriations which Mr. Roosevelt has lately arranged to take from our pockets, and you must admit that $985,300,000 is enough to buy quite a few ships, airplanes, and popguns. Moreover we now see that Uncle Sam has all along been counted on as one of The Allies, and in that fiscal year he set aside $727,700,000 for armaments. Mr. Kennedy ignores, but reason cannot ignore, the fact that these appropriations were superimposed on previous allotments for war purposes, roughly on the same scale, year after year. The admirals and generals, out of regard for their friends the manufacturers, pronounce ships and guns obsolete as quickly as possible, but still the effect is cumulative. From 1926 to 1931 inclusive, Britain, France, and the United States squeezed out $8,084,700,000 for armaments. During the same time Germany spent for the same purpose $843,100,000. If you'd ask me, I'd say that the "democratic bloc," as it has been quaintly called, had quite a start on Hitler when he slugged his way to power.

ADMITS AND IGNORES

After 1935, Hitler rapidly rearmed Germany. No one tried to stop him because they thought he was arming against the USSR. This young John admits on page 55—and ignores for the other 230 pages of his opus.

But alas, if the thesis of an England sleeping in sweet innocence while the villain stole up on her is unsound, what becomes of the supposed moral pointed not only by Mr. Kennedy but by publisher Luce, whose twenty-three pages of foreword are both franker and livelier than young John's essay? Mr. Luce wants an America armed to the teeth, stripped of all civil rights, under a dictator, with labor doing what it is told and no nonsense. So does Mr. Kennedy, and his argument in his final chapter has to be read to be disbelieved. But if anyone who having just lost a rich uncle has $2 to spend for a good book will send me his name and address, I will be glad to suggest some dozens of books more worth his money.

SHAEMAS O'SHEEL.

Putsch in the South

WEEVIL IN THE COTTON, *by Samuel Milton Elam. Frederick A. Stokes Co. $2.*

WE HAVE met in life the contemporary grotesques who people this book—the hoodlum legionnaire, the flunky shyster, the smalltime cheat. We know that of such are fascism's whip-masters. This is a rogue's diary of our hate-ridden southland, a realistic "shocker" whose most sensational revelation is that of minds quite naively devoid of moral considerations. The men who squirm their way to power in the author's fictitious city are the terrifyingly typical "weevils" of Southern bureaucracy. Despite all that we know of the South the psychological quality of this portrait is something rare in fiction.

The plot is the counterpart of Sinclair Lewis' *It Can't Happen Here,* but on a more modest scale. A shady lawyer, a cheapjack politician, a bullying ward-heeler and a blackmailing newspaperman seize "protective" control of a black belt community. The editor of the local newspaper, a liberal Doremus Jessup, is murdered and his paper used to build up a bogus emergency of race hysteria. There is no evasiveness in Mr. Elam's evocation of this brutality. As in the Lewis novel, it is equipped with all the European gadgets—stormtroops, assassinations, concentration camps—and, above all, the very native device, the terrorization of the Negroes.

Elam has projected this backwater putsch as the achievement of four individual ambitions. We miss the hand that grips the lives of Southern workers, black and white, and springs the trap at every lynching: the hand of the mill and plantation owner and the banker. We find no mention of the hard-fisted rentiers who control the whole nervous structure of white rule. The narrative fades off unrealistically with the final defeat of the dictators, not by an indignant citizenry, but in a confusing scramble of rival Hitlers.

The style of this book is its chief source of power. Written in the first person through the hard mouth of the callous, power-hungry reporter, it gives us a clear view of the men who calmly organize a lynching, admitting that race hatred is only a tool, "something you don't get excited about except and in case." Before his execution for treason our narrator regretfully scribbles in his cell, "The time was ripe; the time was here. I could

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have been made use of. Only the place was wrong. They could have used a guy like me in Europe." It is proof of his considerable literary skill that Elam has made his delineation credible and incisive despite its political vagueness.

MILLICENT LANG.

M-Day Again

M-DAY *(What Your Government Plans for* YOU*), by Donald Edward Keyhoe. E. P. Dutton. $1.*

COPYING the size and format of *The American White Paper,* Mr. Keyhoe, publicity man and hack writer most ordinary, has rewritten the gist of the government's revised Industrial Mobilization Plan, for the delectation and horror of—YOU. It will make your hair stand on end, if you have any, not only through its more or less accurate exposition of what will happen to civil liberties when war is declared (there are significant omissions), but also because of its style and its fictionalized approach. A sample.

> Maxwell Streibe, a twenty-six-year-old fiction writer, earnestly asks deferment. "I'm writing inspirational war fiction with patriotic themes to spur America on." . . .
>
> . . . "I'm afraid, Mr. Streibe, we'll have to let Public Relations handle the war-inspiration writing. Maybe you'll find something deeper, better to write, after you've been through it—personally."

You'll get very ill reading this piece of bilge. And Mr. Keyhoe's naivete will not make you feel any better. For while he exposes the fascist mentality behind this M-Day plan, he dances in what he might himself describe as "diabolic glee" over what is going to happen to those who oppose the war. No non-combatants this time, he yells. Wow! He peoples concentration camps with 500,000 people—before the war is six months old.

Most of his fictional characters, when they understand that the government's fascism is protecting them from the enemy's fascism, smile, "grimly" or otherwise, and buckle down to war work. Labor willingly gives up the right to strike; the sinister labor organizer cringes; the phony "liberals" whimper and accept their fate; the patriotic mother is willing to have her two fifteen-year-old sons drafted into munitions making; Miss "Priscilla Deane," magazine writer, horrified by descriptions of the enemy's brutality, puts into her stories "some of that feeling, that fury against enemy brutality," and Marjorie Hastings, radio-script writer, is "building magic word stories of inspiration to Americans who have sent sons, husbands, sweethearts to the front . . . a soldier's mother reads a war story by Priscilla Deane . . . asks how she can serve. . . . Once a month she visits a hospital, quietly donating blood to be stored, perhaps to save the life of some wounded fighting man."

Are you listening?

ALVAH BESSIE.

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Henry Luce's American Dream

Time Inc. releases "The Ramparts We Watch" for the edification of "our (conscripted) boys" . . . James Roosevelt uses Ernst Toller's anti-fascist "Pastor Hall" for war propaganda.

TIME-LIFE-FORTUNE INC. held the release of their first feature-length "documentary" until the conscription bill had been made into law. Now it is presented for your awesome contemplation as a true history of America's participation in the last holocaust, and as a dose to make our possible participation in the present one more palatable. To say that it is as vicious, as deliberate, as stupid, and as disgusting a piece of raw war propaganda as we have so far seen is to understate the case. Into the bargain the film is hopelessly dull, dramatically static, in short, boring. The more prosperous moviegoers who patronize the Music Hall greeted the American flag, Woodrow Wilson, Wendell Willkie, FDR, American soldiers marching, with polite applause; no more.

So it is my guess, which is as good as anyone's, that the long-heralded *Ramparts,* for which Archibald MacLeish has written such gorgeous advertisements, will be a colossal flop.

FAMILIAR PROPAGANDA

For the most interesting thing about this film is the fact that to anyone who possesses even a rudimentary knowledge of world history since the last world war, it is apparent that America is following an identical course into this one. This was obvious to the audience, and it certainly conditioned their reaction to the film. For behold—just as today, the film showed explicitly how the peaceful American people of 1914-17 were bombarded by pro-war propaganda; how they were taught to be suspicious of their neighbors; how the natural horror they felt at death and suffering was exploited to make them "hate the Hun"; how anyone who opposed our entry into war was called a German agent; how American imperialist interests in Mexico attempted to convince us that Germany planned to attack the United States through our southern border; how our love of liberty was perverted into a very real war hysteria until we could be pushed into the slaughter shouting the battle cry of freedom.

What is the film and how is it presented? Purporting to select a typical American town in 1914 (New London, Conn.), it shows you a *Time-Life-Fortune* cross-section of the town: foreign-born workers, the local editor, the German school teacher and his family, the local businessmen, the local senator. They are going about their business in peace when war breaks in Europe. It is none of their concern; this is America. No effort is expended by the editors of the March of Time to explain or illuminate the causes of that war. It was just old Europe at its perennial squabble, with those power-drunk Germans out to dominate the world.

Every ancient canard, every moss-covered "interpretation," unencumbered by anything that even the most forgotten man-in-the-street has since learned about the causes of that war and our entry into it, is dusted off, refurbished, and set before your astonished eyes and ears as the "true" reason for America's entry. You know the list: the American people were "horrified" by the invasion of Belgium; they were "shocked and indignant" over the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*; they were "boiling mad" over imperial Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare. So, irrespective of Wilson's backstage maneuvering, of the Morgan loans, of big-business eagerness for profit, of the Creel committee, and the four-minute speakers; irrespective of all those things which they did not know or which were deliberately concealed from them, distorted for them, they *demanded* that we go to war against Germany! It was a war for democracy; it was a war to end all war; the Hun must be beaten; it was a war for the rights of small nations; it was a war so that those "who submit to authority may have a voice in their government." Toss history in the ashcan—recorded history, spoken, written, understood, once secret, now revealed—and you have *The Ramparts We Watch.*

America goes to war and wins the war. The local senator speaks to the departing boys. "I'm not going to make a speech," he says. "You boys know what you are going to fight for. All I can say is, We are Proud of You." The boys go; they die by the thousands as the peoples of Europe, betrayed, misled, tortured, died by the millions. (Significantly there is not one scene of American soldiers in action; it would scare the pants off the prospective draftees; it would be bad propaganda for war.) The senator, visiting in France, gulps tears at the bedside of a blinded hometown boy. A company clerk in France, leafing through the card index of effectives, turns up the picture and the name of—Wendell Willkie! The war is "won" and the hysterical crowds acclaim the armistice. It's all over!

WE'RE OFF AGAIN

Cut (like that) to 1940. New German legions are on the march. The pages of *Mein Kampf* appear, are translated. Once again the power-drunk Huns are out to rule the world; once again, "America fears the possibilities of a German victory." Our Way of Life is Imperiled. Dubbed in are scenes from the Nazi film, *Baptism of Fire,* with which Hitler "softened" the rulers of other countries before he took them over. The March of Time's honey-tongued commentator is replaced by a guttural *Cherman* voice speaking of the might of Hitler's *Panzerdivisionen,* his *Luftwaffe.* A Nazi at a microphone looks at the audience, says, "Americans are not soldiers," and you are supposed to take that to heart. That is meant to make you mad. That is meant to make you say, "We'll show those Nazi bastards whether we are soldiers or not."

Once again, as in 1914, America is on the march—pan shots of aircraft factories, ships sliding down the ways, troops training, FDR calling for sacrifice, Wendell Willkie threatening to beat Hitler in the American Way. Cut again back to 1919 and the local editor and senator toasting the New Year that had brought peace and democracy to the warring world, leaving 8,500,000 of the world's working men to rot in glory for the "democracy" they had "saved."

That is March of Time's first full-length documentary picture, and for every hysterical and frightened person in the Music Hall audience who saw it, who applauded the more bellicose speeches, who demonstrated by his applause that he could be led again to slaughter there were fifty people silent with bitter understanding.

"PASTOR HALL"

Shortly before he committed suicide Ernst Toller wrote a play based on the martyrdom of German Pastor Niemoeller. It was called *Pastor Hall.* Exile in a land whose language was not his medium, alone, struggling with poverty, and harassed by Nazi agents, Toller felt that he could not continue the struggle any longer. One of pre-war Germany's leading progressives, renowned as a playwright, a major figure in the short-lived Bavarian Soviet Republic, Toller tasted years of imprisonment under the Weimar government, knew exile, saw Hitler come to power, and the Germany he knew tied and bound to finance capital. He suffered in the defeat of the Spain he loved; he came to America to start life over again, but it was too much. He was overcome by a sense of futility and hopelessness; even his keen understanding of the forces that shape our decaying economy could not sustain him. He chose death.

It would not be surprising if Toller were to spin in his suicide's grave, could he know the use to which his last work has been put. Produced as a screen play in England, designed for domestic and foreign consumption to whip up anti-German sentiment, *Pastor Hall* is now being shown in America under

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the auspices of James Roosevelt. There was a flood-lighted gala opening at the Globe. United Artists, who released it, have kept the mails hot with special-delivery publicity letters to film editors. Society turned out en masse for the opening.

As pro-war propaganda the film is subtler than its antecedents. It seems objective in its presentation of the martyrdom of Pastor Hall, who met torture and death because he insisted upon denouncing National Socialism from the pulpit. It is only a mediocre film in its writing, its direction, its production, and its acting; in fact, it is only momentarily moving, frequently dull. As usual, no inkling emerges of the meaning of Nazism; it is personalized in the figure of Hitler and his storm troopers; and its "mystic" qualities are emphasized by the pastor in many references to the powers of darkness and of evil. Only the "accident" of its presentation at this time, only the "accident" of the auspices under which it is produced and the ballyhoo with which it is accompanied, indicate that those who are backing it know exactly what they are doing and why they are doing it.

The great film *Professor Mamlock* was attacked as Soviet propaganda when it was first shown here. Its anti-Nazi German author, Friedrich Wolf, was imprisoned in a French concentration camp upon the opening of hostilities in Europe—at the same time that his film was being shown in Paris and in London as an exposition of the Nazi terror. True anti-Nazis, true anti-fascists are dangerous to the promoters of imperialist war, unless they are in jail—or dead. The promoters know how to make use of anti-fascism, however. It can serve their purpose too, when the people are called upon to defend the status quo in the name of liberty.

MEDIOCRE CAST

How far *Pastor Hall* departs from the original Toller drama I do not know. There were evidences in the film that there must have been great power and indignation in the script. The British botched the job; a mediocre cast of actors performed it. Wilfrid Lawson in the title role rose to one impressive moment in his denunciation scene; at other times he was made up to look startlingly like Mussolini! The audience found it difficult to get used to storm troopers speaking with precise Oxford accents, workers speaking cockney, German imperialist officers speaking like Colonel Blimp.

Ernst Toller—in your first-night audience there were present: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, James Roosevelt, Franklin Jr., The British consul general and his lady, Sir Lewis Beale, Sir Robert and Lady Mayer, Lord and Lady Marley, Col. William J. Donovan, the Herbert Bayard Swopes, the Orson Munns, Postmaster General Walker, Jules Brulatour, Jules Glaenzer, Henry Luce, Sir William Wiseman, Prince Serge Obolensky, Harry Hopkins, Lowell Thomas. A good dramatist should appreciate the irony.

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Music Notes

New Columbia recordings and the TAC concert series

RECENT Columbia releases present two unusual but minor items by contemporaries Aaron Copland and Ernst Krenek. Mr. Copland, composer of the splendid score to the documentary film, *The City,* is represented by two complex pieces for string quartet (70092-D). His venture into "pure" music is not so successful as his film music, although the same solid sense of form is evident. These pieces contain uneven metric divisions, an atonal feeling, and a texture that is bare and percussive. By the logical method of construction the intricate development is made quite easy to follow. However, I believe that the abstruse quality of the thematic material will gain only a limited audience for this recording. The performance by the Dorian string quartet is excellent.

The eleven short piano pieces by Ernst Krenek (X-171) were written to acquaint piano students with the twelve-tone technique. For educational purposes this is a worthy objective, but as music for listening—that is another matter. Schoenberg, the father of atonalists, and his disciples, including Krenek, have developed an intellectualized art. Divorcing music from its relation to human experiences, they leave nothing to reflect but musical processes as things in themselves. Faced with the need to vary these processes, they make them increasingly complex, and the result is a music that is nothing more than intricate formula in sound. It is not surprising that their audience is confined in the main to themselves.

TAC CONCERTS

Without fanfare the Theater Arts Committee Music Division has been giving musicales in private residences. Judging from a recent concert, a little fanfare is in order, because the caliber of the performers and the selections played warrant a much larger audience than the handful present. The Franck Quintet in F Minor was given an expert performance by a string ensemble composed of Max Hollander, Harry Glickman, violins, Emanuel Vardi, viola, and Sterling Hunkins, cello; Milton Kaye worked beautifully at the piano. Two groups of songs followed, sung by Emanuel Rosenberg. Mr. Rosenberg is not a "power" tenor of the Caruso school, but his mature interpretative qualities, plus an extraordinary, velvety legato, stamp him as one of our foremost singers. The program concluded with an interesting quartet by Shostakovitch.

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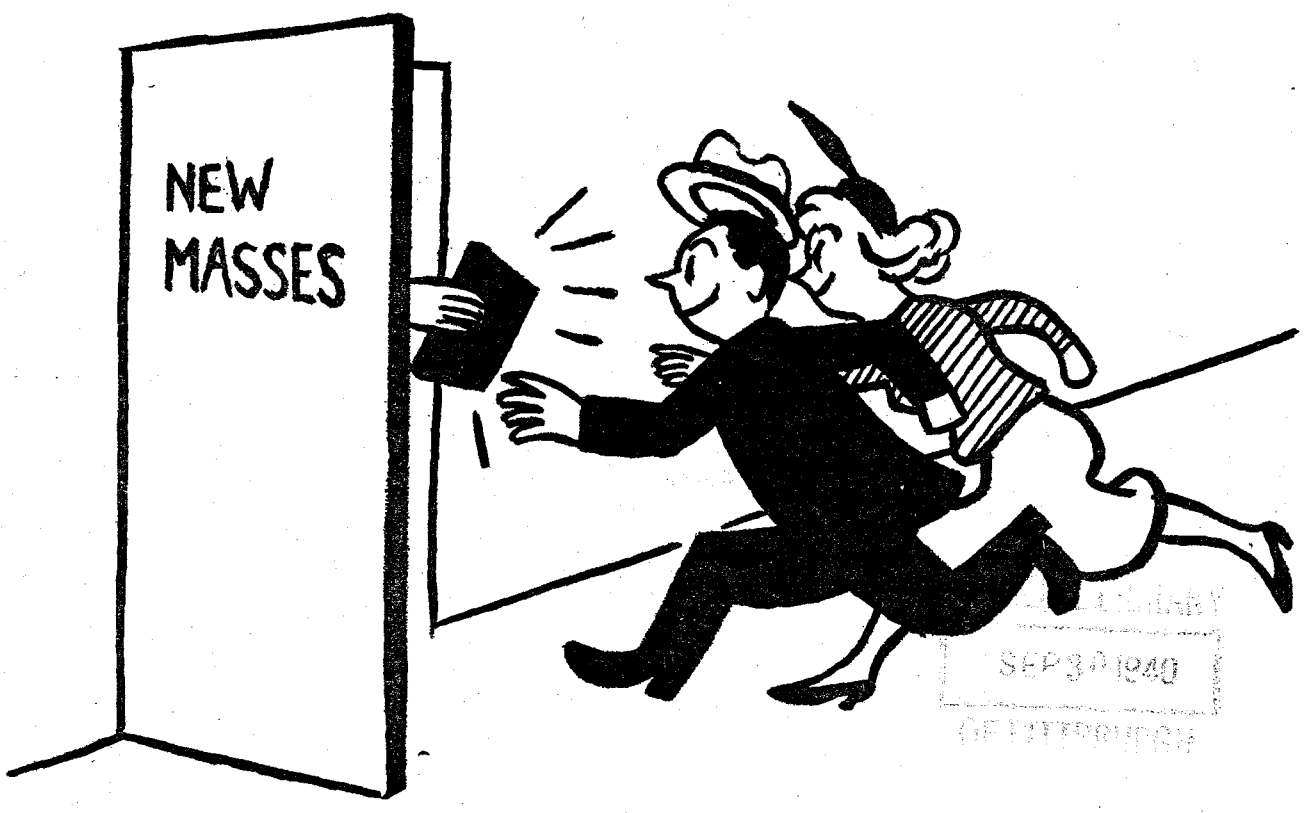

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